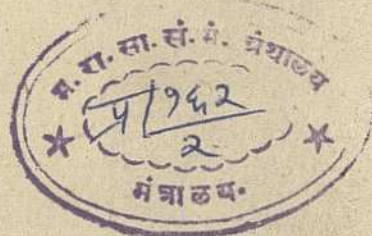


FRENCH RECORDS

RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

VOLUME IX



CORRESPONDENCE OF M. DE BUSSY AND
M. DE LEYRIT, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PONDICHERRY (1755-1761)
FROM AUGUST 5, 1754 TO APRIL 22, 1759.

Translated and Edited

by

Late Dr. V. G. Hatakhar



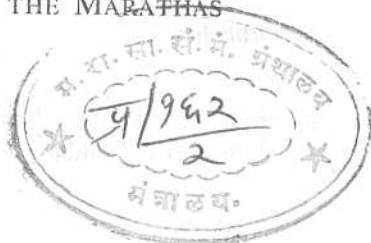
MAHARASHTRA STATE BOARD FOR LITERATURE
AND CULTURE, BOMBAY

FRENCH RECORDS

FRENCH RECORDS

RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS

VOLUME IX



CORRESPONDENCE OF M. DE BUSSY AND

M. DE LEYRIT, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PONDICHERRY (1755-1761)

FROM AUGUST 5, 1754 TO APRIL 22, 1759.

Translated & Edited by

Late Dr. V. G. Hatakhar



MAHARASHTRA STATE BOARD FOR
LITERATURE AND CULTURE, BOMBAY

May, 1985

Publisher

Secretary

Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture
Mantralaya, Bombay 400 032

© Secretary

Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture
Mantralaya, Bombay 400 032

Printer

Manager

Government Central Press
Charni Road, Bombay 400 004

FOREWORD

To publish source material which will have a direct or indirect bearing on the History & Culture of Maharashtra, forms part of the programme of the State Board for Literature and Culture. It had, therefore, undertaken the work of translation and publication of French Records on the History of the Marathas, under the able stewardship of late Dr. V. G. Hatakar, retired Professor of French, Bombay University. The Board has already brought out the first eight volumes.

Publication of the most important documents, those for the period 1751-1761 when the French were thinking of founding an Empire in India, could not be undertaken earlier as they were not available at the time because of the difficulties of Foreign Exchange. It is our great pleasure now to release a part of these documents (relating to the period between August 5, 1754 & April 22, 1759) in Vol. IX. i.e. the last volume of the series. This is the correspondence of M. De Bussy and M. De Leyrit, Governor General of Pondicherry. It is likely to throw some new light on the situation then existing in India, and reveal how the forces of Marathas, Mughals, British and French were interacting with one another.

On behalf of the State Board for Literature and Culture, I am grateful to late Dr. Hatakar who undertook the translation of this last Volume i.e. Vol. IX of the French Records, for the State Board and completed it before his sad demise.

S. S. BARLINGAY

42, Yashodhan,
Bombay 400 020,
Dated 15th April 1985.

*Chairman
State Board for Literature
and Culture*



Dr. V. G. HATAKALKAR, M.A., Ph.D. (Bom.), D. Litt. (Paris).

Dr. V. G. Hatakalkar, M.A., Ph.D. (Bom.), D. Litt. (Paris), was born on 22nd September 1905. He studied initially in Aryan Education Society's High School and Ram Mohan English School, Bombay. Joining Elphinstone College he took his B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. with French from the University of Bombay. He was awarded the Ph.D. degree by the Bombay University for his thesis on the "Relations between the Marathas and the French (1668-1815)" in 1950.

He worked as a lecturer in French in S. P. College, Pune from 1932 to 1937 and then proceeded to Paris where he studied "French Culture" obtaining a degree from the Sarbourn University. On his return to India in 1938, he joined the Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay as a Professor of French and headed the department till his retirement in 1964. He was then appointed Professor of French at the University of Bombay and occupied the position of the Head of the Department of Modern European Languages. He retired from the Bombay University in 1970.

From 1945 till his death Dr. Hatakalkar carried on extensive research and specialised in the study of the Relations between India and France, in the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries. His thesis on the "Relations between the French and Marathas (1668-1815)" was published by the University of Bombay in 1958 with a grant from the University Grants Commission.

VIII

In 1950, he was granted a scholarship by the French Government to examine and study the original historical documents pertaining to the French Rule in India in the 18th Century available in the National Archives at Paris. After a study of these documents for two-and-a-half years he wrote his thesis in French on "Franco-Mysore Relations in the 18th Century" for which the University of Paris conferred on him the D. Litt. degree with first class recognition.

In 1962, he was again granted a scholarship by the French Government to carry out further research on the subject. During this visit to Paris, the University of Bombay entrusted him with the task of securing from the National Archives in Paris microfilms of records pertaining to Franco-Maratha/Mysore Relations which were expected to throw fresh light on certain episodes which hitherto remained unfathomed. Dr. Hatakarkar succeeded in bringing about 6500 microfilms. In view of his long research in Franco-Indian History and his mastery over the French languages, Dr. Hatakarkar was entrusted with the task of transcribing and translating these documents. There are now being published under a scheme of the State Board of Literature and Culture set up by the Government of Maharashtra for encouraging research into the history of Maharashtra (already 8 such volumes have been published). At the time of his death, Dr. Hatakarkar was working on the subsequent volumes.

Dr. Hatakarkar has also been one of the contributors to the supplementary volume of the Dictionary of National Biography of India to be published by the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta.

Dr. Hatakarkar was associated with the monumental encyclopaedic work of Gazetteers in the capacity of a Research Collaborator. He was assigned to contribute to the State Gazetteers on History of Maharashtra—Maratha period in Marathi. This volume was conceived to cover the History of Maharashtra from Shahaji upto the downfall of the Marathas. In this connection, Dr. Hatakarkar had completed the history from Shahaji upto the Battle of Panipat.

Dr. Hatakarkar held several positions of responsibility in the University of Bombay and other eminent bodies. He was President of the 18th Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies held in 1979. He was also a founder member of the Association of Professors of French in India and was its 1st Vice-President and later President.

Dr. Hatakarkar died on 7th February 1984.

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 219-229.

From the French Army at Elluru
August 5, 1754

M. De Moraein

Sir and good friend,

I received, your letters of the 26th and 27th July. The Kowl you have given to Apparao has not been sufficient; it was necessary to give the brother of Kalandar Khan as a security. After all he is coming.

Allow me to enter into a sufficiently long detail on the affairs of this part since we have the paravana. Your letter of the 27th furnishes me with the occasion. I beg to inform you, in my turn, that all that I write to you does not concern you personally and that you were wrong in writing to me in your letter that there was a point which concerned you directly and very deeply. If it is so, you put me in a position not to give you any advice, and the affairs will not go on better. Therefore, take what I have to say to you as from a friend who speaks to you with an open heart and who wishes neither to shock you nor criticise you for your operations. I have always been your friend and I shall be so on all occasions. If it is in this frame of mind that I communicate to you what has come to my knowledge and which may interest you. Make whatever use you like of it. But rest assured that I am not prejudiced, that I am speaking to you, I repeat it to you, as a friend and for the welfare of the affairs, and if everything appears to you as false, tear the whole thing and there will be no more question of it, and stop only at the end of this letter where I intend to put forth the only means which may enable us to take the field in spite of the critical situation in which we are and support the edifice.

I, therefore, take the second item of your letter in which there is a question of the difficulty of not being deceived, as the whole region may be against you, and you may be alone without any succour to

protect you against it. I shall reply to you, what I have already told you at Vijaywada, that it is easy to obviate this difficulty by changing the method of employing only a single man to get information about the affairs. Because of that, there is every chance of being deceived. In the place you occupy, it is absolutely necessary to have 4 or 5 persons who hold the same rank in your service and who will observe each other reciprocally and without each other's knowledge, render you an exact account of all these affairs. You may have some who are not known to the others and of whose behaviour you can learn privately. When Ibrahim Khan came in these districts, the zamindars, to whom I had written, were on thorns. His forces, his reputation and that of the person, who sent him, caused them to tremble. I had recommended to him to march with all the display which usually imposes on these sorts of men, and you know well that his arrival was the epoch of the flight of Jafar Ali Khan and Maphuz Khan. But Reddy, your interpreter, reassured the zamindars by writing to them and sending them word that Ibrahim Khan was only a Captain of Guards, that they had nothing to fear from him or from the person who had sent him. These talks began to degrade Ibrahim Khan. Nevertheless, he arrived at Machchalipatnam on the 17th of the moon of Rabilakhar which comes to about the 14th of February. You sent him to Elluru, where he arrived on the 2nd of the following moon, about the 24th of March. He had orders to call all the zamindars and send them to Machchalipatnam to fix their jamabandi. At the refusal of the zamindars to proceed to Machchalipatnam and the advice he gave you of it, you took the decision to charge him with the list of the jamabandi of the two Circars to which he was to conform, dated the 16th April, which comes nearly to the 22nd of Jamadi Khar and which amounted to Rs. 4,27,448 the Charmahal as well as the six Circars leased out to Vinkal Ram Raja excluded. He worked in consequence of your orders. When the jamabandi was fixed, he took securities from the jamindars. One called Arfourbe Khan, merchant of Elluru for Apparao, and all the Captains or Chiefs of his troops stood security for what was due to each of them and of which they had made the remittances in advance. During this time there was a plot to give the charge of the two Circars to Hasan Ali Beg Khan. For this purpose, they told you what they thought fit about Ibrahim Khan, but your illness or other matters prevented you

from examining the truth. It is not because I do agree with you that Hasan Ali Beg Khan is infinitely more fit for these affairs than Ibrahim Khan and that he is in many respects the man we need on this occasion. I would only like that you should mistrust him and and that his family should be secured. That is to what I see from your letter, that you are determined. I would also like that you were convinced that this affair was conducted in concert with Mirza Ismail Beg Khan, Reddy and Hasan Ali Beg Khan, and that the so-called difficulties which the first told you that Hasan Ali Beg Khan could raise to undertake to recover the money from the two Circars, and about the threat which you would give him, in case he refused to undertake it, to send him to Vijay Ram Raja, be convinced, I repeat it, that it was only a trick to achieve their end. When I talked to you at Vijaywada, you replied to me that it could indeed be so. The sums with which you had charged Ibrahim Khan amounted to Rs. 4,47,448¹, and Hasan Ali Beg Khan pledged himself only for 3 lakhs. In the meantime, you received the news about the Marathas. Ibrahim Khan had apparently promised to follow him with his forces as it is the usage. But this zamindar and others were informed that Ibrahim Khan was going to be recalled (with fact took place on the 25th of Rajjab) and that the farming of the two Circars concerned Hasan Ali Beg Khan. These zamindars then took their decision and Apparao retired without taking leave of Ibrahim Khan and even arrested some of his harakaras who were kept under guard of his foot-soldiers so that they might not report to him the course he had taken.

When I left Hyderabad to proceed to these districts, the zamindars were preparing to meet me half way. But they were informed that I was only the commander of the troops who was coming to collect money, that I would remain only for a month or two, that no deal would pass by my hands (I refer to this fact only casually, for, it affects me little). I continued to inform you of what never came to your knowledge. After the recall of Ibrahim Khan, these people and all the day-labourers of the paragana of Aveli Elluru came to Machchalipatnam to carry their complaints to you. But Reddy got them imprisoned and detained them until they consented to say that they were satisfied.

¹. It is not possible to know which is the correct figure, Rs. 4, 27, 448 or Rs. 4, 47, 448.

You were then at Poterlankas. During my stay at Vijaywada, the zamindar of Rajahmundry by name who is actually with you, wanted to meet Kalandar Khan to speak to him of affairs, but Reddy forbade him to address himself to any other person than he for whatever matter. The zamindar Ramlingam requested Kalandar Khan to persuade me to allow him to beat his nagara. On the reply which Kalandar Khan gave him that it was not the usage, Reddy said to him: "Approach my master; I shall obtain the permission for it". The latter fact is of little consequence, but it is important that you should know everything. The of Elluru were on the way to come to Vijaywada, but reports were sent to them to prevent them from doing so. When Vijay Ram Raja came to Machchalipatnam, all the zamindars of Srikakulam had sent a letter that they would come if it was demanded, but nothing reached you, neither letters nor Vakils. Reddy, who flaunted before Vijay Ram Raja the sacrifice which he was making for him by not informing you of the affairs, exacted a ransom from him. I also add that this interpreter has left you in the dark about the conduct of Vijay Ram Raja since he returned to his lands. This is a part of what I had to tell you. Once again, take it as coming from a friend and receive this information without prejudice as I am giving it to you. Investigate and reject the false; put yourself on your guard against the truth. We have the same object; the same interests guide us, and your way of thinking, which is known to me, does not permit me to doubt that you will take in the right spirit what I am writing to you, while making it a point neither to examine nor touch what concerns your administration of Machchalipatnam and its dependencies. Moreover, all that I have written to you so far interests me only because of the share which I take in the welfare of affairs. The sequel of your letter touches me a little more personally. This is how you explain yourself. Besides, as I have told you once, I am forcibly prevented for too long a time from being in a position to put things on a certain footing and force to return to their duty some zamindars whom Muhammad Moin Khan had flattered too much. You are in a much happier situation in all respects.

It is true that you were complaining for a long time that you were left without forces with the help of which you would have humbled

these zamindars whom Muhammad Moin Khan has flattered too much, that it is not less true that since the 14th of February or the 17th of the moon of Rabilkhar, with the arrival of Ibrahim Khan you had under your orders 2186 men, infantry sipahees and 674 cavalry, detached from my army, whose salary amounted to Rs. 75,282 per month according to the statements which I then sent to you ; to this number were added by your orders 500 cavalry, 150 musketeers and 200 sipahees whose salary amounted per month to Rs. 19,000 which, added to Rs. 75,282, come to Rs. 94,282 per month for 2536 infantry sipahees, with 1174 cavalry. These forces to which were joined some time afterwards the troops commanded by M. Dugre at Hyderabad, were more than sufficient to put order in the 4 Circars ; they had only to set into motion. Because of these detachments, our forces were almost equal, and I was in the heart of the Deccan ; on one side I had to keep in check the Maratha nation, on the other govern the Mughal nation which had to be distributed, in short, mention the order and authority of Salabat Jang in the entire Deccan. Since the recall of Ibrahim Khan appeared to you indispensable, it was necessary to employ his troops usefully, which you had begun to do by giving him order to advance towards the Godavari. This march intimidated all the zamindars and especially Vijay Ram Raja, whom it displeased much, did not have all the effect which you had expected from it. This Raja could cleverly persuade you, through his letters by promising you money which he did not give and through the intermediary of men who have access to you, that it was proper and even necessary to recall Ibrahim Khan, under the specious pretext that his bad reputation created confusion in the country. M. Dugré supported this fact without any foundation in a letter which you communicated to me at Vijaywada. All are agreed that the reputation of Ibrahim Khan is bad. And how is it bad ? Is it because he makes the zamindars to tremble ? Is it because he forces them to respect their master ? Is it for cutting the head of the father of the Raja of Ongole to-day with 150 sipahees ? Is it for forcing Jafar Ali Khan and his supporters to flee at his approach ? Is it for deserving the esteem of and creating awe at the same time among the Mughals and the Marathas in the Deccan ? Is it for showing a zeal and an attachment for the nation beyond any doubt ? Is it either because at the time of the fatal separation of our troops from the Nawab (to which measure he opposed) or during his stay at Aurangabad

where he maintained the things (as much as it depended on him) on the same footing on which I had put them? Or is it when it was necessary to set out for Machchalipatnam where it was a question of persuading his troops to march although three months' arrears were due to it by the Nawab, for which purpose he took loans in his name, and two months' arrears which concerned us, for which I gave him rescriptions on you? If all that makes a bad reputation, I agree with you that that of Ibrahim Khan is indeed very bad, for, I cannot convince myself that a bad reputation can be imputed to a leader of troops because of some plunderings which are committed during his march. Even the armies of Europe, in which complete order and discipline prevail, have their marauders. After this digression made to do Ibrahim Khan the justice which is due to him, I revert to my subject-matter. It is not the forces which you lacked since the arrival of Ibrahim Khan. He could be employed since his return from the Godavari till my arrival at Vijaywada to seize back from Apparao the fortress of which you speak to me in your letter.

Let us now come to the comparison which you yourself make and according to which my situation appears to you much happier than yours has ever been. I have arrived, it is true, with an army, but it is a hungry mastiff more inclined to devour me than to obey me. For 11 months I have been enduring its cries and its clamours. I have exhausted all the resources. I have pledged my credit and my honour to be able to maintain myself in the Deccan. I have brought it by having recourse to cunning into these districts which have been given for its maintenance, in the hope to find there enough to pay the arrears which are due to it, and where, on the contrary I only found fresh difficulties which I did not expect. Innumerable debts, enormous expenses which exceed the revenues and the finances which were to constitute all my resource, either misled or dissipated, and because of the same impossibility to draw any advantage out of this army of which I cannot disband a part or engage the other in any expedition, without beforehand paying what is due to it. Add to it the indispensable necessity to return to the Deccan without any funds to take the field again, as I have only uncertain means to procure them for us, the discussion of which matter I shall put off to the end of my letter. This is my situation. If it is found happy, it is certainly only in fancy

or by a kind of ridicule. You see that the forces of which you exalt the number and the power are a burden to me. Far from being useful to me it appears that the troops of M. Dugré have only served to fortify the Raja in order to obtain the money. Instead of giving you an account of the use that was being made of the revenues, he lost sight of the principal object of his mission by talking to you in his letters of the projects completely irrelevant to the affairs, since he informed you neither of the means the Raja was taking to pay or elude it, nor of the sums which he received, nor of the course they have taken, nor of sums which remained to be collected. In short, he did not conform to the instructions which you could have given him, with the result that these revenues are as if lost for us. Once again, this is my situation. However, I must, as I have said it, return to the Deccan, without which the edifice crumbles, and one could say that all that preceded was only a farce.

In spite of all these difficulties although I am grieved to see the fruit of so many hard labours about to be lost, as you said it, arrogance in a zamindar revolts me, because it was never so misplaced. According to you, the Musalmans have never opposed this arrogance except with futile and ineffectual threats. The facts, which prove the contrary, are so numerous and of which the details would be too long. You yourself have been a witness of all the successes which Muhammad Moin Khan won over Vijay Ram Raja, the only zamindar who is in a position to resist the subhedar. The disaster of Muhammad Moin Khan must be attributed only to an imprudence on his part. I received at Hyderabad ten most pressing letters from Vijay Ram Raja to request me to urge Muhammad Moin Khan to grant him peace. You yourself then wrote to me that Muhammad Moin Khan pursued his enemy with all kinds of successes. You know that Badouza Khan, a simple amaldar of Srikakulam, beat this zamindar on many occasions without the help of his brother, subhedar of these districts and that he had almost brought him to beggary. You are not aware of the usual manoeuvre of the Mughal governors of these districts who often got themselves attacked by the zamindars to have an occasion to render false accounts to the Sarkar and to fish in troubled waters, like Nizan-ul-Mulk who got himself attacked by the Marathas in the Deccan in order to dispense with going to the Court and pay his tribute. I,

therefore, say that what you call arrogance is nothing but cowardice and ill-will in the zamindars who, when they are not in a position to resist superior forces, take to flight in the woods, from which step it results that the lands remain uncultivated. This disadvantage is not to be disregarded. You do admit in your letter that Ibrahim Khan had forces which would command the respect of all the zamindars of the universe, that you had ordered him to humble Apparao, but it was necessary beforehand to fix the jamabandi, which cannot be done in a day. It is only when he was recalled that he could act by express orders from you, as the affairs of the two Circars then concerned Hasan Ali Beg Khan. I put off to the end of this letter to speak to you of the means which will be necessary to humble this zamindar, of which we cannot think now because we must secure the harvest of the next year. I am very far from believing that the private advices which are given to me are infallible they come to me from various sources. I compare them with one another. By this means it is quite unlikely that we can be deceived. It is again to be noticed that the men I have with me, neither demand presents, nor salaries, nor villages, nor farms. All that they wish is to enable me to return to the Deccan and support there out authority so far so well established. To judge judiciously men whom we employ and who have access to us, we must examine the motives which actuate them and reasons which they have to appear attached to us. No one is less susceptible of prejudice than I. Kalandar Khan is the only one in favour of whom I can have it because I cannot forget the obligations which the nation, and I. in particular, have to him. I had the most extensive powers on this point from M. Dupleix to recognise his services, but this man has been constantly refusing all that I offered to him. While comparing this conduct with that of the persons who appear attached to us only to suck us by turning the present occasion to account without bothering about the future, we cannot help being prejudiced in favour of the former.

The Deccan has its eyes open on the operations which will take place here, and I do not separate, as you think it, our interests and our views. They know that both are the same. It is these ideas which occasioned the difficulties which I had to obtain the 4 Circars, because they were quite convinced that as our interests were not different these lands so suitable for our welfare and which adjoin our old

establishments, would remain with us if once we had them (which was always my intention while obtaining them). It is again because of this idea of common interests (it is a known fact that it guides us) that they persistently refused to grant me these 4 districts and that they offered me bigger ones in the Deccan. It is not the same thing with certain Frenchmen who hint that the districts which I administer are my property. It is true in one sense ; the aggrandisement of the nation is my work or rather that of M. Dupleix who employed me. But it is not thus that certain politicians understand ; and to prove to you that these are not pure conjectures which have originated in my imagination, this is how they expressed themselves more than once at Vijaywada : " M. De Bussy is lucky in that M. De Moracin draws money from the treasury to give it to his army and that he is pulled out of his difficulty." What do you think of this clever reflection ? Would it not appear that I am serving a foreign nation to which you are offering succour ? They would be very happy if there was no longer a French army in the Deccan, and I can add, if I quitted it ? But very few Frenchmen realise the importance and the necessity to maintain ourselves there to preserve what we have and complete the work which we have begun. Is it not surprising to see persons so audacious to pronounce themselves on the present affairs in such an indecent manner that it denotes in them little insight ?

Let us now come, Sir, to the state of our finances which I consider under three aspects and of which here is the list.

First of all debts to be paid.

To Ibrahim Khan for 5 past months and the 6th current at Rs. 50,000 per month upto the 1st of Zilcade or September.	...	Rs. 3,00,000
---	-----	--------------

To the sipahees whom I have brought with me and those who have remained at Hyderabad at Rs. 82,000 per month for 4 months upto the 1st of Zilcade.	...	Rs. 3,28,000
--	-----	--------------

Loans taken in the Deccan for which Kalandar Khan and I are a security.	...	Rs. 4,86,225
---	-----	--------------

To the sahuikars, Govardhandas, Nana Devi
and Nimidas. ... Rs. 3,00,000

Total: Rs. 14,14,225

Full salary to the army for 3 months of the
monsoon to begin from the 1st of Zilcade to
the 1st of Safar or December at Rs. 2,10,500
per month for 3 months. ... Rs. 6,31,500

Grand Total: Rs. 20,45,725

It is to be noted that from the loans incurred
in the Deccan, amounting, as mentioned
above, to Rs. 4,86,225, only, Rs. 1,70,000
have to be paid without delay. The payment
of the rest of this sum can be postponed by
a year even two, so that the total debts to
be paid at present, added to the full salary
of the army during the monsoon, amount
only to. ... Rs. 17,29,500

What do we have now for the payment of this
sum ?

From Hasan Ali Beg Khan according to his
accounts. ... Rs. 85,000

From Charmahal. ... Rs. 1,00,000

From the zamindar Venkat Ram Raja for the
six paraganas leased out to him at 62,000
pagodas, from which he may have paid
22,000 pagodas ; there remain 40,000
pagodas, amounting to Rupees. ... Rs. 1,70,000

Rs. 3,55,000

From Vijay Ram Raja, according to the
amounts he has sent me with the copy of a
letter which he has written to you and of
which I shall speak to you at the end of this
one, about. ... Rs. 7,00,000

Rs. 10,55,000

I notice that from the letters of Vijay Ram Raja which I received day before yesterday, he advances only Rs. 50,000 cash and the other Rs. 50,000 in 'tanka', according to, he adds, the last orders which you have given him for which step I require explanations. Thus, we have very sure funds which amount only to Rs. 3,55,000 which remain to be paid from the two Circars of Elluru and Mustafanagar and the lakh which Vijay Ram Raja promises. That is all to face to Rs. 17,29,500. What arrangement do you think, Sir, we can take to find the balance of this sum and the necessary advances to be able to take the field? Here is the scheme which I have formed:

After informing M. Dupleix of the present state of affairs, which you will also do, in your turn, I propose to him the only means that remain for us to pay our debts and enable us to take the field again. The necessity to return to the Deccan has been sufficiently narrated in my letters. I restrict myself now to the efficacious means to succeed in it.

Independently of the advances already made by the Company, we must sacrifice the entire revenues of Condavir, on which point, M Dupleix has taken a final decision, according to his letters which say that he has given you orders. Consequently, in the last one which he wrote to me and in which he talked of Condavir, these revenues will be employed for the army of the Deccan not only for one year but two if it is necessary. These revenues amount to eight lakhs of rupees from which will be given first to the sahuksars a tanka for the three lakhs which are due to them. They will willingly accept it, because of the fact that repayment of their money is assured to them without difficulties and litigation. Besides, we must assure on the same revenues of Condavir Rs. 1,70,000 due in the Deccan, of which the repayment cannot be deferred any longer because this sum carries interest as also that of the sahuksars and we will make a tanka or rescriptions in favour of Kalandar Khan who has pledged himself. For the rest, as I have already said it, we have time.

As for the rest of our debts and the funds necessary to take the field again, we must take them from Vijay Ram Raja and Hasan Ali Beg Khan from the revenues of the next year. Vijay Ram Raja has neither the will nor the means to pay us what he owes us. The decision to make war on him has innumerable disadvantages of which we must

not omit the details, it is a disadvantage which would not be of any account if I were to stay in these districts. It is only by means of force that we can oblige Vijay Ram Raja to pay what he owes to us. (It is not what I lack) but the consequences can be very disastrous to us. Because as Vijay Ram Raja is not in a position to resist such forces, he will retire into the woods, his retreat will definitely prevent the cultivation of lands—first disadvantage. He will induce the Marathas, with whom Jafar Ali Khan continues to stay (which circumstance should render us very cautious), to enter into these districts again—Second disadvantage. The English of Vishakhapatnam who, on the report of the arrival of my army in these districts, are making some movements to put themselves in a state of defence, will willingly fall in with the design of Vijay Ram Raja to harm us—third disadvantage. No sooner than I have left these districts than our various enemies will be free to create the troubles there as they like. Add to them as the last disadvantage, Sir, between you and me, the arrival of M. Le Godeheu to whom we must offer the spectacle of complete peace in all our domains, because not being acquainted fully with the facts, he might be prejudiced against these new acquisitions whose possession would not appear to him sufficiently tranquil. Besides, to begin this war and not finish it to our satisfaction, would be to dishonour ourselves. As for the disadvantages of the decision of peace, they are of a different kind though they are not less to be feared or less difficult to surmount. I shall cite only one which alone can do us a considerable harm. It is the necessity to remit to the Raja what he owes us and give him a receipt for his lease. Still, if after that I could succeed in inducing him to give us some advances on the revenues of the next year, I would think that I have turned the desparate state of our affairs to good account. If by the same means of insinuation, I could succeed in withdrawing from him the farm of Rajahmundry without however, alienating him, our misfortunes would be in some way tolerable. All these difficulties, however great they may be will disappear in a short time, if, as I have said it, I could make a long stay in these districts with my army. As I must prepare the means for my return to the Deccan, I must also avoid everything which can delay this or prevent it. In spite of these considerations, in spite of the severities of the season in which we are, although we have been in the field for ten

months, although the men and the animals are harassed, I am leaving without delay, determined to break with the Raja if the negotiations cannot materialise. After meeting M. Panon and Venkat Ram Raja, I shall proceed straight to Rajahmundry where I do not expect to stop. That is why since our arrangements taken at Vijaywada no longer hold good your journey to Rajahmundry is useless for the present. The two Circars of Elluru and Mustafanagar with which you have been kind enough to charge yourself, remain at your disposal. I request you to send me every month for the subsistence of my army Rs. 3,55,000 which remain to be collected from the revenues of these Circars. In the meantime, Hasan Ali Beg Khan, in the hope of obtaining the lease of these Circars, as he wished it, for nine lakhs, without, however, concluding definitely with him, if he has some assurances of obtaining this lease will persuade the peasants to sow the lands with seeds, because his interest is bound with the cultivation of these lands. On the return from my expeditious, you and I shall terminate the affair and the advantageous state in which the lands will be, already cultivated and sown with seeds, will furnish the means to turn this lease to better account.

Moreover, all these advances of which mention is made in this letter ought not to be wiped off, if one sets about it properly. We can get ten lakhs, from Elluru and Mustafanagar. If the various projects which I propose to execute in the two other Circars, according to the different conjectures, have some success, we can get from them Seventeen lakhs which, added to ten others, will come to 27 lakhs. My plan while quitting these districts is to leave there a roving army or an itinerant camp, the whole commanded by Ibrahim Khan. The expense of this army will amount to Rs. 50,000 per month, and if the circumstances permit it, those of the Deccan will be fixed at Rs. 1,50,000, which will in all come to two lakhs per month, and in the course of the year to 24. The surplus of three lakhs would serve for the repayment of the advances taken (in the Deccan). We must not imagine that we can administer these districts from our establishment. We must provide for it in a more efficacious manner and employ for that purpose means consistent with the genius of the country and the circumstances which cannot all be foreseen. That is of what the itinerant army of which I have spoken, will perfectly supply the deficiency. Its principal function

would be to do on a small scale what the Nawab does in the Deccan, that is to say, according to the custom of all the subhedars, to proceed everywhere where the need of the affairs demands it and keep the zamindars in respect, sometimes much against one, at other time against another, to watch on the guard of the.....This army will be under your orders and in particular under those of M. La Selle whom we have deemed it proper to place at Rajahmundry, whether we leave the lease to Vijay Ram Raja or whether we take it from him, to watch over the recovery of the funds and observe the movements of Vijay Ram Raja.

I was at this point when I received your letter of the 31st with the copy of that which Vijay Ram Raja has written to you. Hasan Ali Beg Khan was with me at this moment. I gave him this letter to read. After the perusal, he kept silent for simetime and said to me afterwards: "When M. De. Moracin made agreements with Vijay Ram Raja, we were not friends and he had no one to inform him of the truth and the usage". "All that canbe inferred from the letter of Vijay Ram Raja," he continued, "is that all he owes to you is lost. There is no other course to follow than that of making war on him.". He expatiated much on the bad state of our affairs in the north. Without disclosing to him my plans, I agreed with him that I must not as he said it stop at Rajahmundry, and as he offered to follow me, I made a reflection that it would be breaking completely with the Raja who would no longer doubt that we were determined to pursue him if Hasan Ali Beg Khan followed me. I told him that as soon as I had resolved on some decision at Rajahmundry, especially on that of war, I would write to him to join me. This is what we have agreed upon. Thus, Sir, I request you to think of the subsistence of the army and send me enough to maintain it until we can count on something so far as Vijay Ram Raja is concerned. As you have seen it above,

Hasan Ali Beg Khan remains indebted for	...	Rs. 85,000
---	-----	------------

Charmahal	...	Rs. 1,00,000
-----------	-----	--------------

M. Panon who arrived here with Venkat Ram Raja told me that this zamindar could still pay, without counting what he has brought me.	...	Rs. 2,00,000
---	-----	--------------

Total—Rs. 3,85,000

The expenses of the army amount to Rs. 2,10,500 per month by giving only the subsistence to the sipahees, I mean half salary. We must pay to Ibrahim Khan Rs. 24,233 per month, to the sipahees, I have brought and those who are at Hyderabad a half salary of Rs. 41,000 to the Europeans full pay of Rs. 46,500, food for animals and other expences Rs. 30,000, which amounts to the sum of Rs. 1,41,733 which we must have every month to subsist wherever I go. See, Sir, what you can furnish me every month so that I can count on something. M. Panon has delivered to me a bill of exchange for 2,000 pagodas on Timaji Naik and 2,700 pagodas in cash. I give Rs. 10,000 to the officers to be collected from you to complete their salary for the month of August, which Rs. 10,000 have been delivered to you, from what he told me, by Hasan Ali Beg Khan on account of Rs. 50,000 which he was to furnish me in place of a similar sum which I gave at Vijaywada for which he should pay only Rs. 40,000 because of Rs. 10,000 which I give to the officers on you; the White troops here and at Hyderabad are paid for the month of August. To pass beyond Rajahmundry, I must necessarily have one and a half lakh. It is not possible to draw a single farthing from Venkat Ram Raja for another two months. Please see that you avoid this difficulty. Time is pressing. We must not think of letting it drag on at Rajahmundry. That is why I request you to send me some money as early as possible. I think that M. Panon is a dupe of Venkat Ram Raja according to the reports of men well acquainted with the facts. This zamindar has collected all the revenues from the six paraganas.

As for the forts of which Apparao and Venkat Ram Raja are in possession, Hasan Ali Beg Khan has advised me to think of taking them away from them only on my return. He has given me very good reasons for it, and I am satisfied with them. It is certain that if this man serves us with zeal, he is very fit for what you have charged him. But don't lose his family out of sight for a moment, and find out what transpires at his house to the smallest details. If this family is not in the town of Machchalipatnam, it will be difficult for you, by leaving it in the 'peth' to observe it suitably without giving him some umbrage. But you are kind and wise.

Venkat Ram Raja today submits accounts in such disorder that the hopes of obtaining some succour from this quarter are still uncertain. Moreover, you know that Cohour has always been separated from the times of Taver Jang. Thus, Hasan Ali Beg Khan could tell you that he had farmed 5 paraganas for 85,000 pagodas; Cohour can be worth 60,000. I do agree that we cannot draw from them as much. But whether it is left to the person who has it, or you give it to another, we must not be in a hurry. When I have terminated this affair, I shall inform you of it. I mean the accounts of Venkat Ram Raja for the past year, for that which we are going to enter, we must give all to Hassan Ali Beg Khan without, however, concluding anything for the present, as I have told you in the course of this letter, and wait till the lands are sown with seeds. On my return, we shall settle this matter and we can certainly obtain more than nine lakhs, nazar apart. The method to involve Europeans in these affairs is not worth anything because they always allow themselves to be deceived.

M. Panon, till today, does not know exactly the amount of the farm lease of this zamindar for whom he is a security; he is not better acquainted with the sums which Jafar Ali Khan collected from these six paraganas.

I am leaving tomorrow. I request you not to lose sight of all that I have written to you, especially for the subsistence of my army. I am forever, Sir and good friend, your very humble and very obedient servant.

P. S.—I request you, Sir, to give special attention to what concerns the present needs of my army during my stay in these districts. The other matters or projects contained in this letter, I leave them to your reflections. Take at your convenience the time to communicate to me what you think of them.

True copy.

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 226-227

From the French Army at Rajahmundry

August 13, 1754

M. Le Marquis

Sir,

These few lines accompany the copy of the firman from the new Emperor for Salabat Jang which I received yesterday. I earnestly request you to give me precise orders, and without delay, on the conduct which I ought to adopt with the English established on this coast. They are making preparations of war. They are preparing flags for being hoisted, they say, in the places which will suit them. They are raising troops and mounting guns for the campaign. Lastly, they had a servant of M. Bury whipped only for passing in one of their villages. They next sent him to his master with a letter full of threats. The perpetrator of all these insults is Mr. Westcot, Chief at Nelepelly. Some time back Vijay Ram Raja asked from the same Westcot the villages which he had on lease except Camprepaloin and Nelepelly. He was given a reply that they would not do anything of the kind, because the villages had been given to the English Company. This is a very obvious impudence at a time when he knows that I am so near him. M. Bury further adds that this Englishman has urgently written to Madras to demand succour in men and munitions from there. Is it possible that a petty chief of a mart should scorn us in this matter? He neglects no occasion to hurt insults at us and does his best to urge Jafar Ali Khan and Raghuji to enter these districts again. It is to what these two persons are only too inclined. I am sending order to M. Dugre to remove the flags which will be planted on his side. But I must have more precise orders to stop the violences of the English more effectively without which the Nawab and the Mughals will see that the lands which they have given us under mortgage for the sums which they owe us and the maintenance of the army are lost for them as well as for us, and will rightly ask us to return them, since we cannot guard them. Please do not delay. Sir, to communicate to me your intentions on this question.

I request you, in reply to the present letter, to send me the scale of the salaries which you give to the officers of the army of Tiruchirappalli. It is advisable, during our stay in these districts, to reduce the pay of those of this army. That will create a little shouting, but never mind, you will please write to me as follows :

“I am sending you Sir, a statement of the pay for the officers of your army, with which you will comply during your stay in these districts.”.

I remain with the most respectful devotion,

Sir

Your very humble and very, obedient servant

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9159, f. 214-215

French Camp on the Godavari,

August 20, 1754

Sir,

My philosophy could indeed teach me to console myself for my misfortunes, but it has not yet taught me to stand patiently those of my friends. Pass on to me such a gentle expression. Could I paint to you, Sir, all the pain caused to me by the caprice of fortune which you are experiencing ? Let us speak plainly : The frightful treatement you receive ! No, Sir, the loss of my liberty, and my fortune never cost me more pain or tears. I would need your heroic firmness to console myself. Besides, do not think that these sentiments are inspired out of selfishness and that I regret more your kindnesses than your person. I venture to assure you that you would ill know my innermost heart. I protest and swear to you that they are the most natural pouring out of my heart. The effect of infinite gratitude which I shall eternally preserve for your kindness and which the piece of ill-luck, which affects me, attaches me more strongly than ever to your service.

No, Sir, the most whimsical events cannot slacken my zeal. Put it to test. See if I could be helpful to you in something. Whatever I may do, I am paid in advance and nothing would touch me so much as to render you services worthy of your kindnesses. If these sentiments can deserve for me the continuation, of your friendship, I shall be well paid for all my admiration for you, and the attachment and all the respect with which I wish to live and die.

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient servant

L. Abbe de Montmelan

Quite occupied as I am with my grief, I have not said to you anything about that of M. de Bussy. I would ill paint it to you. What delights me is the disinterestedness of his sentiments.

B. N., N. A. F. 9158, f. 228-228v°

From the French Army near Rajahmundry
August 20, 1754

M. Le Marquis

Sir,

I received your letters of the 4th of August with the sentiments which you know I have for you. I shall conform to all that you have been kind enough to point out to me, in all the matters without exception. The correspondence with M. Le Godeheu has begun and will continue until he deems it fit to order otherwise. I have been obliged to give some extension to my letter in order to give him some idea of the picture of the affairs of the Deccan. This work, as you know, is not small. I have delivered packets for you to an individual who is leaving for Pondicherry. I pressingly request you the continuation of the esteem, affection and confidence with which you have honoured me so far. I beg to offer my respectful devotion

H 4328—2a

to Madame whose letter I have received and to whom I am replying by the same channel. Allow me to offer my courtesies to Miss Vincent. I shall remain all my life and with an inviolable attachment.

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient servant

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 230-231

From the French Army at Rajahmundry

August 23, 1754

M. Le Marquis

Sir,

I am replying to your letter of the 4th of August. Your departure for Europe is a clap of thunder which has struck me down and consternated me. You exhort me, while departing, to continue to serve the nation and support a work which is on the point of its ruin. Do you believe sincerely that I shall not be enveloped in the same disgrace as yours? The blow is perhaps deferred or suspended only to be struck with greater violence. Whatever it may be, I have always made it my duty to defer to your advice and follow your guidance. I shall not deviate under any circumstance from this respectful and inviolable attachment which has so far constituted my happiness and my glory and which will always constitute it. I am awaiting the replies of M. Le Godeheu to take my decision, although I am convinced, like you, that it is proper that I await in India the replies of M. De Conflans. If, however, I have not the post which I occupy, the liberty to act, and if they wish to govern me by ideas of men, ignorant and without experience, my own work will perish by my hand, and they will conclude from it either that I have destroyed it myself out of

grudge or that it was neither so beautiful nor so well established as you and I have given it to understand. On the other hand, if M. Le Godeheu continues the confidence, with which you honoured me, I confess to you that I cannot dispense with still complying with the needs of the nation and the Company. It is not that I expect that my services will be rewarded or even acknowledged. But I shall have, like you, the advantage to have served the mother-country without any other emolument than that of the glory of having been useful to it and the consolation of attributing its contempt and its ingratitude only to the faction of the envious too devoid themselves of merit not to seek to observe that of the others. I understand that your advances are very considerable and that their repayment is very doubtful. You know that the largest part of my fortune is in your hands; I am myself a creditor for the remainder, so that if I retire or if I am recalled, I shall be in the same difficulty as yours.

You know still better than I how little I must rely on the sentiments of the Mughals. Gratitude, which is no longer a virtue recognised and practised in Europe, is still less so in Asia I shall do my best for the fulfilment of your plans on the repayment of the advances of which I do not guarantee you the success. You know sufficiently well all its difficulties.

As you have the kindness to promise to continue to give me, your news till your departure, I shall write to you at a still greater length. My reply to M. Le Godeheu having taken all my time, I have been obliged to postpone this private letter. Please, communicate to me what you will discover of his views and dispositions with respect to the affairs of the Deccan. I continue to revolve the plan to abandon everything and leave for France. I await your replies and your advice. I am so overwhelmed that I cannot devote my attention to the affairs. The army cries with hunger, no one pays and I am not free to Act.

I have the honour to be with a respectful devotion.

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient servant

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 234-234 v°

From the French Army at Rajahmundry

September 3, 1754

M. Le Marquis

Sir,

I am returning to you, as you have asked me, the bill of exchange of the saraf Bal Shetty on Nana Devi. The latter did not want to discharge it. Please give me news about you. That if your departure has begun to spread in the country. I foresee that it will cause a great revolution. I do not know whether it will be to our advantage, if Balajirao and Raghuji and all the people, who do not show much goodwill for us, will not profit by it. As for Vijay Ram Raja, I am sure of it. Once again, give me news about you. I insist upon abandoning everything. I sacrificed my body and soul only out of affection for you. The manner in which you behaved with me, which was rather that of a friend, between equals, than of a superior to an inferior, caused me to bear all the discomforts of my mission. Probably it will not be the same at present. Please give me your advice on this point. Moreover, I wish to terminate the matter in question if you as well as Madame have the same intention. Once again, shall not stick here after your departure.

I remain with the most respectful devotion,

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient servant

De Bussy

P. S.—If you have absolutely decided to leave for France, I request you kindly to deliver the file, which M. Gallard has handled over to you, to someone at Pondicherry. There are family papers, and others equally important in it.

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 235-235 v°

14,000
20,000
15,000
20,000
10,000
20,000
12,000
10,000
20,000
1,27,000
× 19½
11,43,000
12,70,000
63,500
24,76,500

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 237-238.

From the French army at Rajahmundry

September 7, 1754

M. Le Marquis

Sir,

Overwhelmed with letters as I am, I have just a moment to communicate to you two tidings which will rejoice you because they interest you.

The first is that Vijay Ram Raja is in the dispositions in which I wished him to be. He himself makes proposals to me which I would have desired that he had wished to accept on my part. Kalamdar has left to meet him and terminate the negotiation on

advantageous conditions which the overture of the Raja gives me the right to demand. Here is simultaneously the payment of our funds and peace assured in these districts.

The second is that Jafar Ali Khan has left Raghuji and proceeds to the Court of the Nawab. I am going to send the jewels to redeem my word. There is fresh and stronger assurance of peace in the new concessions. I solicit you that you should yourself carry to Europe the assurance that your work and mine is solidly established and precisely in this peaceful state which is desired. I am actually going to endeavour to withdraw the family of Jafar Ali Khan from the hands of the English of Vishakhapatnam, which will establish tranquillity forever in these provinces. I expect to terminate everything in 20 days so far as the two areas of the north, are concerned and be in a position to rejoin the Nawab or do such other thing as it will please M. Le Godeheu to order me.

I await your news with the utmost impatience, especially about what I have written to you. I request you to write to me fully on that point. I beg to present my respects to Madame and my courtesies to Mademoiselle Chonchon.

I remain with the most respectful devotion,

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient servant

De Bussy

You have abandoned me, Sir, I do not receive letters from you.

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 236.

From the French Army at Rajahmundry
September 12, 1754

M. Le Marquis

Sir,

I request you to write to me definitely on the matter in question. When can I hope to see it concluded? Let nothing induce you to change your mind, please just as I declare to you that never shall I deviate from my sincere attachment, my complete gatitude, and I can say, from my unflinching affection.

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 239-240 v^o

From the French Army at Rajahmundry
September 12, 1754

M. Le Marquis

Sir,

I have received from Hyderabad the definite news of the effect produced by the report of your departure. I inform M. Le Godeheu of it. Everything is in an uproar there. Muhammad Ali Khan and the English have written on this subject with all the fanfaronade which is familiar with them. Their Vakils show themselves boldly. The Mughals talk in this Court of nothing but of the triumph of the English, of your departure, whilst the English administration continues to remain the same. The comparison, which is made, is odious and very dishonourable for the nation. The English and their supporters paint the Kind of England as an arbitrator of all the affairs of the Continent. They announce themselves as masters of the French whose chief and Governor-General has just been recalled at their will. They

invite the Nawab to open his eyes to the prejudice in which he has been so far about the power of the French about whom they speak with the utmost indecency, represent them as supplicants to whom they do not condescend to grant the demands which they make as slaves to obtain peace. As the English continue to maintain this swaggering pose, they offer to the Nawab their protection which they point out to him is absolutely necessary for him. This is, Sir, what is taking place at the Court of the Nawab, decadence, not to say degradation, in which we have fallen. Thus, the blow, which your enemies wanted to deal you, falls back on the nation. It is a fatal one for it.

You know like me that all is personal to the Asiatics and that all that has been done by one chief, as soon as he is ousted, is considered as null and void. That is so true that when I left the army last year because of ill-health, although the army remained such as I had left it, with the same forces, in a state to create awe, and dictate the law, the French, in a short while, fell into ignominy and contempt, a fatal decadence which re-embarked me into the affairs and did not permit me to enjoy the rest I longed for. Shah Nawaz Khan does not know what to think. The Nawab, more decided than he, (because he reflects less, and of whom I have so often traced the portrait for you) is quite occupied with the triumph of the English. Balajirao is beginning to stir. Raghuji, who had appeared to abandon his projects of war, resumes them, although Jafar Ali Khan has really quitted him. This is, Sir, what is happening. The consequences of this revolution, if they are adverse to us, are not mediocre. However, they continue to press me (I mean the Nawab) to proceed to Hyderabad. But the mission becomes critical. It will be still more so, if the English prevail in your quarters. My expectation is that their pretensions will perhaps be so insolent that I shall be obliged, in spite of myself, not to agree to them. However, at the Court of the Nawab, they have given a reply to all these letters and sent an important person to negotiate. In fact, I do not know to what consequence will lead all these moves. We must apply a prompt remedy to them. There is not a single good Frenchman who is not beside himself with grief to see thus the glory of the nation or the point of vanishing at the moment when it was pushed to its last pitch.

To-day, the 14th instant, at six o'clock in the morning, there arrived letters from the Nawab and his minister, of which herewith is the translation:

The Nawab's letter to M. De Bussy—After the usual compliments. "Your nation has supported and helped me till today. I have recognised as much as I could the services which it has rendered me. I have given to my uncle Zafar Jang the government of the Carnatic. The troubles, which our enemies have occasioned these, have caused me great losses. I continued to hope that my uncle would have an upper hand. It is with the utmost grief that I hear that he has been recalled. I had despatched harakaras to carry letters to him; these were translated in the presence of the new Governor, who said to them, as they have reported it to me, as follows: "Tell the Nawab, your master, that I am sent on behalf of the King who has forbidden me to interfere with the Mughal government, that he can provide for himself as he likes." The same harakaras also reported to me that prisoners have been returned to Muhammad Ali Khan. I also hear that Murarrao has quitted you, that the Mysorians are doing the same. All that proves to me that the English have the upper hand over your nation. I confess to you that these measures have thrown me in the greatest surprise. You had always assured me that your King was a powerful monarch, and today I see that those who have protected Muhammad Ali Khan prevail over you. I, therefore, warn you that at this news which throws me in the geatest grief and the greatest surprise, I am obliged to respond favourably to the English and Muhammad Ali Khan who have written to me. The situation, in which I am, demands it. Moreover, you are aware of the offers which they have been making since a long time 15 or 20 lakhs, which they still offer me, will put me very much at ease. Raghuji is making great preparations against me. You know that I am relying only on your forces. The change in the government will perhaps deprive me of them. That is of what I request you to inform me openly, etc."

That of Shah Nawaz Khan contains almost the same thing and urges me much to join him. But here is the translation of that the same minister writes to Aidersingue¹.

¹ Hyder Jung.

After the usual compliments.

"I cannot recover from the surprise in which the news of the recall of the Governor Bahaddur M. Dupleix throws me. I do not know of what the French to take this decision. They are losing by that both their honour and wealth, for, I cannot conceal from you that we cannot negotiate anything with the new Governor who does not understand our affairs as M. Dupleix did. Moreover, it appears that the French are neither so powerful nor so generous as they wish to give us to understand and that the English have absolutely the upper hand over them. I, therefore, do not hide from you that I am going to negotiate with the English and Muhammad Ali Khan to obtain succour from both. Besides, they have been offering us, as you know, men and money since a long time. I know that you are extremely attached to M. De Bussy. I request you to hide from him what I write to you, and inform me openly whether he will really join us. You are aware of the great preparations which Raghuji is making. Time is pressing. I am awaiting your reply. But to all appearances we must not expect any succour from the French after what has taken place, etc."

I remain with the most respectful devotion,

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient servant

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 241

From the French Army at Rajahmundry

September 17, 1754

M. Le Marquis

Sir,

It would be very desirable that you took the decision not to leave for France. You see everywhere, as I am pointing out to you,

the harm which that will do to the affairs. In case you continue to be in the same intentions, I request you to put the last touch to the estate which you have charged your nephew to buy for me. I am writing about it to my brother and recommending to him to see you and give you, as I am doing, assurances of my inviolable attachment. This brother is Lieutenant-Colonel, married at Metz to Miss Grossrieux, daughter of a councillor to the parliament of this town, who brought him 50,000 crowns in marriage. I have received no news from you. Do not forget me thus, please.

I remain respectfully.

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 242-43.

From the French Army at Rajahmundry

September 18, 1754

M. De Moracin

Sir and good friend,

I am always eager, to communicate to you what comes to my knowledge. I take care to watch what is taking place at the Court of the Nawab and as a result, I know all the most secret conversations and talks. Here is word for word the conversation of Shah Nawaz Khan on the question of the French.

"The Governor of Pondicherry has been recalled only because he interferred with our affairs. The person who replaces him, is forbidden to take part in them, and will concern himself only with trade. General Bussy, on whom we found all your hopes of succour and support, has munitions only for a year. The soldiers, who die from fatigue and the climate, at the most number 500 to 600. M. Dupleix continued to send him others and supplied him with munitions every year. Will the new Governor who only wants to carry on trade, do the same? We

cannot believe it. Thus, succour and protection will not come from the French as before. Why should we keep them?" Thus, they argue in Hindustan where national spirit and European usage, as you are aware, are not known. Our enemies, who move heaven and earth to substitute themselves in our place, support and strengthen these suspicions and even give rise to them. The remedy to this situation would be to immediately send a part of the cavalry which has come from France with a reinforcement of infantry which would be presented to the Nawab as the elite of our troops in Europe, and still better to prevent M. Dupleix from leaving. It will be a service which you will render to the nation if you would endeavour to do that without which I predict that all our affairs will be ruined.

The emissaries of our antagonists are making very great progress, and I am certain that it is a question at the Court of the Nawab, where the Vakils or agents of Muhammad Ali Khan and the English are openly operating since the change of the government and my absence. I am certain, I repeat it, that it is a question of making an attempt on our old concessions and asking from us accounts since we have been possessing them, because the English proclaim everywhere that the new Governor, has orders to return everything and confine himself within the limits of trade, whilst they themselves have orders, they say, to act as they like. All these talks make all the greater impression at the Court of the Nawab as we have to deal with the most ungrateful of the nations and most ignorant of the European customs. I remain unreservedly and for ever, Sir and good friend, your very humble and very obedient servant,

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 244-245

From the French Army at Rajahmundry

September 21, 1754

M. Le Marquis

Sir,

I received your letters of the 19th and 29th ultimo, and M. Fougues arrived here yesterday and delivered to me your packets. You can count that I shall give all my attention to what you recommend to me, but you know the nation with whom I have to deal.

I do not receive any order from Pondicherry. However, I am in a very delicate situation in all respects. I refer to my letters of the 12th and the 17th instant of which you have herewith a copy. You will see in them the strange disorder which your departure is going to cause in our affairs, and how it would be desirable that you should remain in India. As for me, I am in a perplexity which I cannot express, although our affairs are nevertheless going on well. Jafar Ali Khan has arrived at Hyderabad. I have entered into negotiations with his family which is at Vishakhapatam with a view to taking them out from there. They are making good progress. Vijay Ram Raja is on the way to meet me. My artillery is repaired. Finally, I have only to follow the scheme which we had proposed for the payment of the arrears of the sipahees, and to rejoin the Nawab. But I am in an uncertainty which cannot be expressed, as I do not receive any order or news from Pondicherry. We could not definitely better serve the English, and the blow, which your enemies, I never tire of repeating it, thought of dealing you, rebounds in its entirety on the nation. Therefore, Sir, if it would be possible to remedy it. The time to enjoy had come; the glory of the nation was at its height; the possession of the establishments which we have procured to the Company, is tranquil and peaceful. But what is going to become of the glory and the profit? That is what I do not know. As for me, what shall I do in India after your departure? I admit to you that I have not sufficient strength to bear this separation.

I receive no news from Madam. Has she forgotten me ? Finally, Sir, if your decision is absolutely taken and if nothing can retain you in India, think, both of you, that you have a friend here or rather a son whose tenderness and sentiments are proof against any revolutions and whose gratitude and attachment are limitless. Kindest regards to Mademoiselle Chonchon. I admit to you that I fear Paris in this respect. Goodbye, Sir, I embrace you thousand and thousand times. Rely on me in India as one a second yourself. You should not doubt that at the first news of the revolution that has taken place, I would have flown to Pondicherry, if you yourself had not prescribed me to remain. Goodbye once again. Continue to love me. Rely on me. I remain for all the time of my life with the most respectful and most tender attachment.

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient servant

De Bussy

P. S.—I have just received letters from the Nawab and Shah Nawaz Khan for M. Le Godeheu, for you and for me. I am sending them to you as also the copies of mine. You will see that our affairs are making good progress on all sides, and it rests only on the French, I repeat, on the Company to enjoy quietly all the advantages which your labours and mine have procured for it.

At the time of closing my letter, I receive yours of the 11th and 12th September. I request you to set your mind at rest on all that you write to me.

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 246-247 v°

From the French Army at Rajahmundry
September 24, 1754

M. Duplex de Bacquencourt

Everything renders to me precious, Sir, the correspondence which you are kind enough to have with me. Your personal merit, of the renown of which I am aware, the fact that you are one my best and

most respectable friends, the part which this feeling leads you to take in his (of Dupleix) glory and in what concerns me, I am touched by it. When I see, Sir, from your letter, how you are in a position to appreciate my operations, nothing indeed justifies better the idea which I had of the merit of your genius and of the sagacity with which you have seized the affairs which occupy us. It might be said that you have followed their thread step by step; not a single expression, not a single name escapes you. It is so true that affairs of all kinds fall within the province of wit. You make a very flattering praise of my administration which others, less enlightened than you and not knowing as much as you do the real state of affairs in India, believe themselves well founded and as if obliged to criticise. Sir, all my successes lacked an enlightened appraiser who knew the value and the merit of all that took place in India for the glory and the advantage of the nation. The honour of it mainly belongs to your uncle. It is he who employed me. The esteem and the confidence with which he honoured me are the basis of my success. This glory belongs to you in some sort, and you have the right to lay claim to it. It is yours because it is property which no one can dispute with M. Dupleix.

You are right, Sir, and you think very correctly not to notice that the nobleness and loftiness of the ideas of your uncle fatigue too much the narrow-minded people who, shut up in the narrow sphere of common and servile ideas, make a crime of everything that is above their feeble reach, however solid and advantageous it may be in other respects. You know the affairs of India as if you had administered them. You understand sufficiently well that the change of government will not be advantageous to them, if, all the same, it will not occasion their decadence.

Sir, your uncle, because of his firmness and the excellence of his sentiments is incapable of being shaken by the reverses. Permit me this little reproach, Sir, you do not, render me sufficient justice when you exhort me not to abandon M. Dupleix. I owe him too much. I have always gloried in being attached to him. The disgrace, which he suffers, renders him so still dearer and more respectable to me. Besides, it is not to him that his enemies have dealt a fatal blow. It is to the nation, and they will see it one day.

How many thanks have I to render you, Sir, for the troubles you have been kind enough to take for acquiring an estate which I had requested you to procure for me! I expect that you have conferred on this point with M. Marion de Mersan, brother of the one with whom you have been in correspondence. He has left with the instructions from your uncle for the purchase of this land. In this respect, I approve and ratify all that you must have already done without him and in concert with him, and all that you will deem it proper to do. If it is not an accomplished fact when my letter reaches you, you can push the price of this land upto 8,00,000 francs. But from what you tell me by your letter, I ought reasonably to except that this matter is already completed. I offer you immense thanks for it.

One of my brothers, Lieutenant Colonel of Infantry, married and who resides at Metz will see you in this connection. I recommend to him to thank you on my behalf and show to your uncle and to all who are related to him, and especially to you, the greatest gratitude. In case the land is purchased, M. Marion must have conveyed to you my intentions on this point, concerning of my family and especially of my mother who is extremely old. Fortune, which has declared itself in my favour, enables me to restore a poor family. That is the principal object which occupies me. What you (?) have advanced to my brother, the canon, is a trifle; we must not speak of repayment. I intend to give him more efficacious proofs of my sincere affection. I charge my brother who is at Metz to communicate to you quite a long letter which I have asked him to make sufficiently public. My aim is to destroy the false ideas to which malicious insinuations could have given rise and of which he has informed me, especially of the idea which is he tells me, very popular in France that ambition is the motive which has guided M. Duplex and me.

Have no doubts about it, Sir; at the first news of the arrival of M. Le Godeheu. I would have flown to Pondicherry, if the very orders of your uncle had not prevented me from doing so. He thought that I ought to continue the work which, after covering us with honour and glory among all the nations of Asia, will be, sooner or later, crowned with the approval of our country and will be the cause of the despair of our enemies. I thought it my duty to subordinate my liking

and bent to his advise. Moreover, I could be more useful to him for some time in India than in Europe. I willingly make this sacrifice to him although it costs me much.

I do not enter into any detail. Your uncle is a living history. The month of January will furnish me more matter. I think that at the arrival of M. Le Marquis de Conflans, they will have repented in France for the decision they have taken.

I have the honour to remain with the most inviolable and most tender attachment.

Sir

Your very humble and very obedient servant

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 89-84 v°

From the French camp at Rajmahendry
October 5, 1754

M. Le Marquis

Sir,

My situation is most embarrassing. I do not receive any order from Pondicherry. However, all the affairs in this part are settled with the zamindar Vijay Ram Raja with still greater advantage than I had hoped. Besides, he will pay all the arrears for his farming, partly in cash, partly in valid securities. I have succeeded in withdrawing from him, without alienating him, that of Srikakulam, the northernmost district. This farm rendered him too powerful with the result that it estranged him from us and put us in a state to placate him more than the glory and the interests of the nation allowed it. Thus, he is left with the single farm of Rajmahendry and its dependencies, and by that he is as if blocked by Machchalipatnam. And the farmer of Srikakulam is Ibrahim Khan feared and respected in the whole region. It is he whom I charge with this farming. His interest demands that he should remain faithful to us, for, his troops will be payed only

from the revenues of this district. He will be at the same time the chief of this itinerant army whose operations I had the honour to narrate to you. I assign to him for his shibandi, that is to say, for the salary, and the statement for his troops per month ... Rs. 50,000.

The garrisons of the towns and the forts of Rajmahendry, Srikakulam, Cassem Cotté, Ganjam and Vitchiapur, according to the diversity and the importance of these parts which are all situated on the sea-coast, with the exception of Rajmahendry which is 32 km. away and Srikakulam 2 km. away from it, will cost per month ... Rs. 13,135.

Namely

At Rajmahendry, 12 European gunners per month	...	Rs.	180
150 sipahees	...	Rs.	2,250
200 ordinary footsoldiers of the government	...	Rs.	800
10 cavalrymen	...	Rs.	300
	carried forward	...	Rs. 50,000

2 employees ... Rs. 500

1 Officer ... Rs. 250

1 Commandant ...

Srikakulam (ditto) ... Rs. 4,280

Cassemecotte, 1 chief, Rs. 300

Rs. 300 per month.

50 sipahees ... Rs. 750

5 European gunners ... Rs. 75

100 footsoldiers ... Rs. 400

Ganjam (ditto) ... Rs. 1,525

Vitchiapur (-"-) ... Rs. 1,525

Which will amount per year to about ... Rs. 7,51,135

The expense of the army of the Deccan, unless some event obliges us to augment it for some months, will amount to Rs. 1,50,000 which will come per year to

Rs. 18,00,000

Total of the expense ... Rs. 25,51,135

The Revenue of the farms are:—

For Srikakulam	...	Rs. 9,00,000	
For Rajmahendri	...	Rs. 13,00,000	Rs. 31,00,000
For Ellore and Mustafanagar.	Rs. 9,00,000		
To be deducted for the expenses	...	Rs. 25,51,135	
Balance	...	Rs. 5,48,865	

Which will serve either for the payment of the debts or for some other use which M. Le Godeheu will deem it proper.

I have now only to go and join the Nawab. Today is 5th of October which is the 17th of Zilhez, time when all the Mughal and Maratha troops begin to take the field. I shall begin to dispatch the artillery beyond the river. The season has already so advanced that it does not permit me to wait for the replies of M. Le Godeheu.

By the happy turn which our affair have taken with the *zamindar* Vijay Ram Raja, we are in a position to satisfy all the arrears due to our black troops.

Shah Nawaz Khan, whose entreaties for my return are continuously repeated, assures me that after securing the Nawab from the incursions on the part of his enemies, we might return to our head-quarters earlier than we usually do so, in order to accomplish setting good order there, which would diminish our expenses, augment our funds, totally discharge our debts and finally set us up, like the *jahgirdars* of the Empire, with respect to the Subhedar of the Deccan, according to the plan which I have always in view.

Such is the pleasing perspective of this part, the tranquil and peaceful possession of the rich domains, all the worth of which is not yet sufficiently known. These districts contain diamond, iron, copper mines, forests of teak wood and generally all the trade which the Europeans carry on in India and of which the Company had formerly only the scum from the other nations. You have seen above the principal places of these districts; they are almost all ports for small

ships and are, moreover, towns of very big trade, the protection of which is extremely easy since they form (I mean these districts) a narrow and long passage of two hundred koss or leagues long which has in its greatest width only 25 to 30, defended on the side of the Deccan by a chain of mountains which extends from the river Krishna to Cuttuck or the Point Palmyras, in which there are only three passages very easy to guard, and the sea, which hems these districts which is called the Orissa Coast. I hasten to draw this brief picture for you so that you could communicate it in France. This picture, which you will present, will have nothing suspicious about it and will suffice to dispel the doubts and the anxieties which they have on the affairs of India, until the memorial, of which I have spoken to you, is completed and which I can send you in January.

I have received all your letters. I shall do everything that you recommend to me with respect to the Nawab. Set your mind at rest. In my turn, I recommend to you my interests. I pray you to believe that it is only absolutely at your behest that I remain in this drudgery. I do not know if this letter will find you at Pondicherry.

Wherever I am, you can rely on me as a person who is absolutely devoted to you. Every one, big and small, regret you. I leave you to imagine how dear are my regrets. Good-bye, Sir; I wish you the best health, and it is really speaking with tears in my eyes that I wrote this one. I embrace you like a father. I do the same to Madame, to whom I am writing, and to Mademoiselle.

P. S.,—I shall send you in January a select person to carry all that you desire.

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 250-250 v°

From the Camp
October 6, 1754

Madame,

I have not omitted any occasion to write to you and always to assure you that nothing can be more painful for me than to see you leave. This sentiment augments as the time of your departure advances. It is an idea to which I cannot reconcile. Preserve for me, I supplicate for you, Madame, these tender sentiments with which you have always honoured me and do believe that the tenderness of mine are not inferior at all to those of a son for a mother to whom he owes everything. I have scribbled herewith my badly expressed sentiments for Mademoiselle Vincent. You will make use of them as you deem it fit. Do not forget me, Madame and remember that nothing will be so sweet to me as to receive your news. If you do not return to India, rest assured that I shall burn with impatience to join you and enjoy at leisure a boon of which absence will teach me to appreciate the value.

I remain, Madame and very honoured mother, your very humble and very obedient servant,

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9159, f. 244-244 v°

Translation of the letter of the Nawab Salabat Jang to M. Dupleix
who received it on the 10th of October 1754.

To my dear uncle and benefactor, Governor Bahaddur Zafar Jang, General, I always wish you the best of health.

I received the letter which you were kind enough to write to me and by which you informed me about the arrival of the Commandant and Commissioner M. Godeheu and about your departure for Europe. You asked me that if I had any supplication to make to the Emperor, I should communicate it to you, and also inform you if I needed anything from Europe. The friendship I have for you and Jeanne Begum cannot be expressed in writing. Your heart is aware

of it. Of all the finest presents which can be given to me, I do not see a more precious one than my desire to see you back again. I was besides myself when I learnt that you were leaving me. I cannot describe to you the grief I felt at your departure, because it would make the same effect on the letter as when cloth catches fire. If I could alter the complexion of affairs by my efforts, I would sacrifice my life to succeed in it and retain you. Whatever efforts I make to alleviate my grief, I cannot control it. It resembles an elephant in fury which breaks its chains. Being full of these sentiments for you, how can, I not be occupied day and night with your souvenir? We are, bound with each other by our sentiments although bodily separated, I pray to God that he should soon unite us and that the torrent which takes you away should soon bring you back. You recommend to me my esteemable friend Saif-ud-daulah, M. Bussy, Bahaddur Gazaffar Jang. He is completely devoted to me. I have just given him a jahgir in the best paraganas in the dependency of Hyderabad to urge him to continue day and night to work for the welfare of my affairs. Set your mind at rest on this point. In consideration of the friendship you have for me, he sincerely works for my prosperity, and mine (friendship) for him can only increase consequently, if it is possible. I request you to recommend to him not to leave me for a moment, in consideration of the friendship which reigns between you and me. I cannot express to you how much I am grieved to hear about the indisposition of Jeanne Begum. God preserve her in good health. Nothing is of greater consequence to me than to hear that you are doing well. Let me hear from you often to rejoice my heart.

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 255-265

Extracts of some letters of M. De Bussy to Monsieur Le Godeheu.

From the French Army at Rajahmundry
October 23, 1754

There is nothing more just than your reflection that our views do not differ in the main. The choice of means could not but be happy when unanimity of sentiments an impartial views direct it.

In this respect I shall communicate to you whatever knowledge the local conditions, the manners and the genius of the various nations with whom we have to deal, will furnish me so as to enable you to achieve the end which you desire in accordance with the intentions of the Court and the Company. I hope that it will suffice you to take your decision with certainty.

This honourable peace which the King and the Minister desire in India must not undoubtedly concern this part in which there has never been any war and in which the French are tranquil peaceful possessors of the rich domains which they hold because of the liberality of the Nawab without any claim of defence or dues which render the subjects of the King accountable in any manner to the Princes of the country. Thus, it appears to me that the intentions of the Court are entirely fulfilled. These very domains, which we enjoy in this part without any share of other powers which can disturb its tranquility, do not make the Company a territorial power that is to say, that they do not give it any rank among those who share the sovereignty in this country. Although the Company at the time of its first establishment, did not propose to make conquests, it has, however, not renounced at any time the improvement or the aggrandisement of its colonies to which its trade is attached. The occasions, favourable to aggrandise them and pull themselves out of the kind of servility in which the foreign colonies are at their birth, do not occur often. The Dutch, today so powerful in India, succeeded to this flourishing state only gradually. The English, who seek to equal and even surpass the Europeans, do not find that their power can be established at their sweet will. All perfectly know the real advantages of a commercial Company. That of France waited for a long time for these lucky strokes of chance, these caprices of fortune as sudden as solid in their effects. Although it intends to renounce a too vast stretch of territory which it would possess in a manner little becoming the subjects of a great King, it is however, very determined to retain and preserve what is necessary for its welfare, favourable for its commerce and in keeping with the orders of the Court.

These dispositions faithfully paint the real state of the domains of the Company on the Orissa Coast. We can make changes in it only

by a forced interpretation of the views of the King and the deliberations of the Company. That is what I shall discuss while still following the order and the sequence of points contained in your letter.

It is thus in the Province of Arcot that we must endeavour to procure an honourable peace. This vast province, from which trade, by far cannot derive the advantages which it finds in this part, had been given, or to speak more justly, had been entrusted to the French only in virtue of a lease which renders them accountable to the Subhedar of the Deccan. This is perhaps what has prejudiced the Court and the Company against the aggrandisements of its colonies in India in general without distinguishing those which, very far from causing the trouble and disturbing its commerce, serve only to extend it and support it.

The idea of a reciprocal renunciation on the part of the French and the English not to interfere subsequently in any manner with the interests and the Government of the native Princes, can concern only the Province of Arcot and not at all the affairs of the Deccan. Besides, permit me to observe that it is little probable that both will keep this promise. They have recognised with what facility one can take on the Asiatics this ascendancy which has put them in our dependence. The real advantages, which have been found in it, will be powerful motives on occasions to interpret this renunciation according to the prevailing interests. The English themselves, while accepting this preliminary, impair it by their obstinacy to have Muhammad Ali Khan recognised as the Nawab of Arcot, quite convinced to remain masters of the province by this stroke, dictate law in it and keep us there, so far as commerce is concerned, in a dependence in which they, nevertheless, do not appear to have any part.

You have left off at a fixed point, Sir, which is of the utmost importance on which you must not relax on any pretext whatsoever. It is to reject all negotiation with the English on the affairs of the Deccan and the provinces of the north as they are absolutely irrelevant to the disputes that have arisen in the Province of Arcot. They have been raising this clever battery since a long time, but in vain. The French are not deceived. What Mr. Saunders has written to you in his letter of the 4th September is besides the point; his complaints are premature.

He would definitely like to show that we had given to the English establishments on the Orissa Coast just grounds of complaints in order to have some pretext to appear as enemies and as a peace-maker in this part. Whatever may be his intentions (which certainly are not favourable to us), it is absolutely false that the English have been disturbed in their trade. On the contrary, the change of master in the 4 Circars has become advantageous for them, since we do not demand from them any dues which they paid to the Mughals. The 4 Circars are given on lease and in the document there is no mention of anything but the revenue of the lands; the European establishments are not included in it, and although entire liberty for the European nations has not been stipulated anywhere, it is certain that no French soldier has approached their factories. I have pushed moderation to the point of overlooking the audacious arrogance of an English chief who, left before my arrival in these provinces, had whipped M. Bury's servant whose sole crime is that he belongs to a Frenchman. It is a quarrel anticipated on the part of Mr. Saunders; he lays out the preparations for it from a distance, and to start it he only awaits some facts which can truly allege. But he will be mistaken in his expectation and will not have the satisfaction to establish that we have tried to disturb them (the English) in this part and that by that we put some obstacle in the peace. Permit me to repeat, Sir, my anxieties on this score cannot be easily calmed. It is of the infinite consequence not to admit on the part of the English any proposal even indirect on the affairs of the north. They have so far not taken any part in them. They have no interest, either personal or of their allies, to support. During the peace conferences held at Sadras, Mr. Saunders described the French army in the Deccan as chimera. Under what pretext does he now wish that we should discuss with him our progress in the north, for which he showed so much contempt a few months ago? On this point we must set him against himself. Besides, what negotiation of peace is to be made in a region in which there is no war, where the English did not have any with us or others? Since long back I have made the reflection on which you insist that they will sacrifice everything in order not to be subjects of another European nation; I know it. They are very far from it today. On the other hand, their dues cease because of the change of master as I have just said it.

I am making all the preparations to return to the Court of Salabat Jang with speed. I am not afraid of saying it and you are too judicious to suspect bragging in me. Salabat Jang, his courtiers and his ministers are so completely in my dependence that I can govern them as wards. To dictate law in the Deccan, I have only to make my appearance there. Indeed, quite absent as I am there, I hold the Mughals and the Marathas in check. By my letters and secret proceeding I destroy all the intrigues which are formed at this Court ; they are stifled even before they are hatched. You have certainly received the letters which informed you of the moves that have been made at the Court of the Nawab in connection with the change of Government among us. The antidote followed closely ; everything is quiet. The intrigues of our antagonists have had only feeble success and short duration. Jafar Ali Khan is no longer among our adversaries. His family, which had retired to Vishakhapatnam to stay with the English, is now with me ; it is I who furnish for its expense. Thus, nothing opposes the tranquil possession of the 4 Circars. I am in a position to dictate law there even during my absence. The zamindars, governed as they were before us, will be kept in awe and the people, who see us intent on protecting them from the vexations of the zamindars, will remain attached to us and will peacefully collect the fruit of their labour.

I have now only to deal with one of the most important points of the letter to which I am replying. You recommend to me to make on this point the most serious reflections, to weigh everything carefully. That is what I have done for a long time, and I can assure you that I thoroughly comprehend our real interests in the use of the concessions of this part.

First of all, Sir, we must establish as an indubitable principle that on this coast and in the lands which we possess with complete independence which suits the French, there is no more a choice to be made either to obtain new ones or to desist from what we possess. The possessions which form the Government of Machchalipatnam constitute only a whole, the parts of which are so closely bound that the slightest dismemberment will disturb all its economy. The 4 districts under mortgage for the maintenance of the troops form an

object apart which, has however, an essential connection with our other domains. They serve them as a barrier and a defence against incursions from outside. This is their position. Cast a glance on this map which is really not geometrically exact, which suffices to give an idea of our concessions until I send you a more exact one along with the memorial on which I am working.

On this point, Sir, what must we relinquish? Nothing. What can we renounce? Nothing. Machchalipatnam, which is like a centre and a storehouse for everything, if it is governed by a fouzdar under whose sweet pleasure we must administer the affairs, will no longer be but a sojourn of ignominy. The Dutch will re-enter it haughtier than ever and will sacrifice everything to induce the Mughal governor to create all sorts of difficulties for us, which he will not fail to do, as he little fears, the Nawab from whom he will be too far away to respect his orders. Of what use will be the various parts of the circumference when a foreign power will occupy its centre, from where it will tear our bosom like a viper? At whose requisition shall we relinquish some portion? According to our system, the English have nothing to claim. They will not be allowed to examine or discuss what we ought to retain, or relinquish. The Mughals will not ask back from us anything from the earlier possessions. They will rightly reclaim the districts under mortgage when we shall cease to have with them a corps of troops to whose salary they are assigned. If against all probability, after exhausting all the means of pacification, we could succeed in re-establishing peace in the Province of Arcot only by renouncing something, it would rather be Condavir which we must relinquish in spite of the advantages which we derive from it. Its position to the extremity of our domains, by returning it to the Mughal government, will not harm the remainder. But, Sir, to cede or return the establishments situated on the Coast to keep those which are hemmed in by land, is, in my opinion, to invite trouble which the Company appears to avoid. This renunciation, although it may be presented as an effect of a generosity which must not sell its benefits, would do us honour anywhere else but here. The Asiatics, incapable of feeling and noticing the loftiness of these sentiments, will attribute this conduct to pusillanimity which constrains us to receive the law which it pleases our adversaries to impose upon us.

Allow me, Sir, to add further that if this eventuality occurred, I shall not be in a position to persuade myself to reappear in the Deccan where I must endure, on the part of the Mughals, as a shame and ignominy what would appear to any other nation as a real heroism of sentiments. It is, therefore, advisable for us in all respects to keep what we possess in this part. It is the fruit of the expenses of the Company, the price for the blood of the subjects of the King and the reward, so well deserved, for so many labours. I add that trade can flourish and honour of the nation be sustained only inasmuch as we shall maintain ourselves in the possession of what we have so legitimately acquired, where we are tranquil and which has no connection with the interests of the English.

To enjoy our advantages in the north by giving to trade an extent and a lustre which it is easy to procure for it, it is proper, as you point it out, to choose for this purpose fixed points besides those which we already have, without stopping at Narsapur which is susceptible of great expansion because of its position. Let us move up to the north where various places, capable of fixing your choice are available.

The Ganges or Godavary, the biggest river in Hindustan, passes by the feet of the walls of Rajahmundry where it forms two branches of which one goes to Yanam and the other to Narsapur. In the space lying between these two principal arms, there are formed a number of small ones which water the territory and fertilise it. The inhabitants of this district are almost all weavers, and lot of cotton is cultivated there, so that by re-establishing ourselves at Yanam, we block the trade of this kind of island where at the very least we share with the English the large trade which is carried on there. This re-establishments can be accomplished with less expense, since we are masters of the territory. The materials are taken from our funds. The English have since a short time back made such great progress that we must not neglect anything to balance their trade by ours. But let us not confine ourselves at that. At 60 Km. to the north of Vishakhapatnam we shall find Minikpatnam, a place very suitable to form an establishment for the manufacture of linen cloth, an establishment the neighbourhood of which is full of weavers and finally, as a last

prop on the side of the north which will end in making us masters of all the trade on the Orissa Coast, we must establish ourselves at Ganjam, a sea-port and town with a very big trade. It is situated at 120 Km. to the north of Srikakulam. The English had a commercial house there under the sweet pleasure of the governor of the districts which we possess today. They have abandoned it since the last 5 or 6 years when the Mughals expelled them for embezzlement in connection with some lands which they had on lease.

As for Divy, we must not also relinquish it. This island would soon be in the hands of some other European nation, and whoever will possess Machchalipatnam and Divy will hold the proprietor of Condavir in check and in dependence. The former, whose situation is the most favourable in the world for defence, ought to be considered as the base of the edifice and the headquarters of the French establishments on the Orissa Coast, and I can add that the surrender of these two places will necessarily lead to the total expulsion of the French in this part. Whereas by maintaining ourselves there, we remain masters of the trade of Nizampatnam and Condavir, even if we were compelled to return them, because the fouzdar of this province will always be in need of the masters of Machchalipatnam and Divy. The fears, which other Europeans, established like us for trade on this coast, have to see us masters of the interior of the region, are not well-founded since they are not at all disturbed in their establishments for the dues or obstructed in their trade for the customs, and that their interests have no relation with the collection of the revenues of a territory assigned or given by the master for the maintenance of a corps of troops which cannot cause them any damage, since its destination is to reside in the Deccan. Moreover, would it appear just if we made sacrifices of territory which we hold from the generosity and gratitude of the Nawab, whilst the English do not make any of the advantageous establishments which they have seized without any justice in the neighbourhood of Yanam which make them masters of the river and the trade? Will they support it? should they fortify themselves everywhere whilst we shamefully retire from the domains given to the Company?

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 273-283v°.

From the French Army at Rajahmundry

November 12, 1754

From M. De Bussy to M. Le Godeheu.

Everything is finally terminated in these districts and our affairs there are in the most favourable position that we can desire. Everything there is as tranquil, as subdued as if we had been possessing them for the last 20 years. I have made Ibrahim Khan, as I have already informed you, fouzdar or governor of the district of Srikakulam. All the advantages, which this arrangement procures for us, will impress anyone who has some knowledge of our affairs. The principal ones are first of all to pull us out of a very great difficulty, since I found by this arrangement and some advances on my part the means to pay the arrears which we owed to our troops. It is an item of more than 7 lakhs of ruppes. Ibrahim Khan, placed in this district, appears to be so on behalf of Salabat Jang. If, finally, we are ever obliged to quit the Nawab and consequently return the districts under mortgage for the subsistence of our army, it would not be difficult for us to retain Ibrahim Khan as fouzdar of Srikakulam. He enjoys a great reputation among the Mughals and the Hindus. He is known to, and esteemed, by the Nawab. Now, if need be, we could have in this place a man more inclined to serve our interests and protect the bases which we might have on the Orissa Coast and which we might reserve for ourselves while returning the districts under mortgage. In short, in the conjunctures in which we are, nothing appeared to me more suitable to our interests than this arrangement. I am dispatching this fouzdar to take charge of his government. Vijay Ram Raja accompanies him with his troops, as he is obliged to do so every time the circumstance will require it according to the usage of the country and in the capacity of a zamindar. I am thus ready to leave without regret and even with the satisfaction of having done more than I had expected. As the arrears of our troops are paid, as I have said it, the only debts that we have to discharge are those which we have contracted in the Deccan with some Mughal nobles, the sahu-kars and my advances. You have granted the revenues of

Condavir which would, in a year and a half, suffice to discharge these debts, provided nothing is turned away. I shall practice much economy for that purpose, and I shall not increase our troops without absolute need. My arrangements have brought about quite a big reduction in them, because the corps of M. Dugrez, Europeans and sipahees, returns to Machchlipatnam from Srikakulam.

The differences between Raghuji Bhonsle and the Nawab have almost terminated; they both have referred them to my mediation. Raghuji's vakil, by name Ramchandra Baba, whom I dispatched some days back, ought to terminate everything. The agreement concerns only 4 lakhs as jahgir which had been given to his son in the subha of Berar but which had been withdrawn from him during the last campaign. This jahgir is returned to him on condition that he surrenders the fortress of Cavelle in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad which he seized during this winter (monsoon).

I was at this point when I received your letters of the 6th and the 7th October. I cannot express the embarrassment and the perplexity in which they throw me. They stop me in the finest course although it infallibly leads to the end which we have always had in view and which you appeared to have adopted in your letter of the 16th September. They appear to undermine the edifice, oblige me to destroy the work which has cost so much, and sacrifice to the proud jealousy of the enemies the price of the blood of the subjects of the King and the fruit of so many labours and expenses. It is thus that you explained yourself on the 16th September. This reflection so just and so solid had struck me like you. It had become for me a fresh motive to finish the career which I have been following for such a long time although it appears to me unbearable by its duration, and give to the aggrandisement of the nation and to its commerce the necessary perfection to render it steady and permanent. So far I have succeeded, it appears to me, beyond even my expectations, but in vain from what it appears by the arrangements and dispositions which you make me foresee. I pick up every point from your last letters on which I shall explain myself with all the zeal and frankness in which I glory. I wish I had the skill to convince you. Whatever may happen, I shall at least have

the satisfaction to have placed before you what appears to me to suit the interests of the nation and the Company.

First of all, Sir, I pay homage to the intentions of the Courts and the Ministers. I respect the deliberations of the Company and the wishes of both. The orders from you, Sir, who are the depositary of their confidence and their secrets which I am not trying to penetrate, (are sacred to me). But I would fail in my duty to both if I kept silent on what the local knowledge, devoid of all private interest, has taught me and what experience of 4 years has demonstrated me.

Whatever may be the sense of these words that the Company does not wish to be a territorial power, the question is, as I have already observed it, that the Company should not hold any rank among the powers which share the sovereignty of this country. That is what the French have never thought of and what the Princes of the country have never suspected. Is the Company a territorial power because it possesses domains which suit her trade with an independence which does not render the French responsible to any one? The districts under mortgage, as they are not given in sovereignty, do not make it a territorial power. The revenues of the districts are assigned for the maintenance of a corps of troops which the Subhedar of the Deccan demanded from the King and the Company. Whether these revenues are collected by ourselves or by a Mughal governor, what connection can it have with the interests of the English? As for the other domains of the Company, it possesses them according to the intention of His Majesty who insists that his subjects in the colonies do not depend on any foreign power. If even that is not still to his liking, it means that he does not wish to possess anything. However, you assure me that he does not intend to relinquish everything and that he intends to retain as much as he can. I confess that I find it difficult to reconcile such contrary intentions and plans. Nevertheless, it appears that from this principle you decide to abandon even the 4 Circars given for the maintenance of the troops. At the moment when this project will be executed, you must decide to recall all the troops which are in the Deccan and declare insolvency for all the debts. Allow me to say it to you that to pretend to reserve places favourable to commerce is to delude oneself. By surrendering the districts, you will surrender all the places in spite of you possessing

them, if you cede them so promptly. This heroism of generosity, which you charge me to induce the Nawab to appreciate is a pure chimera in the mind of the Asiatics who will style it as weakness and as a servile submission to the English. I have explained myself in my last letter. As for the advances, which you propose to me to draw on these districts, I must draw them willy nilly, and I have no other funds to take the field and rejoin the Nawab as you order me to do. Since the district of Condavir is reserved for discharging the debts and since the Council of Machchalipatnam is forbidden to give me advances of money, if, to obtain a large amount, I make a very large reduction in the price of the farmings, not only do I lay myself open to criticism but dishonour myself (I mean the nation) in the mind of the Nawab and his ministers who would protest that I have lost these districts, since it will never be possible for the person who will succeed us to put them back on the old footing. The scantiest knowledge of the genius of the people and the usage of the country suffices to convince you of it. When I received your letter of the 16th, I had begun to relax a little, and you will see from the detailed account of the farmings that I have again made a reduction, which I cannot push further and without which we would not find enough to maintain the army. I add that if we allow our plan to return the 4 Circars to transpire, it's all over. No one will pay in his just fear of being obliged to pay again. In this supposition which is not chimeric, we must provide for the subsistence of the army or recall it. In this uncertainty, how can I resolve to go further? Is it not better not to reappear in the Deccan than to leave it with ignominy and play the role of the insolvent?

The perusal of my correspondence with M. Dupleix must have revealed to you that Salabat Jang had offered for the salary of this army districts in the Deccan with a large revenue than that of the 4 Circars which appeared to you to suit us better than the coastal lands. In your surprise that we did not accept them preferably to what we have on the Orissa Coast, your conjectures fall down upon M. Dupleix's desire to disturb the English. I am not the depositary of his political secrets. What I know and which is of public notoriety, is that M. Dupleix sought from what it appears to me, the real interests of trade and in my opinion, he achieved them. If today, when we are in possession of them, we do not want them, that should not be imputed

either to him or to me. The English are jealous of it, that is to say that they would like to have what we have, and if they had it rest assured that they would bother very little whether the French approved it or not.

Let us revert, Sir, to the correspondence which this digression made me lose sight of. It is to be presumed that if you have deemed it fit to pursue its perusal, you must have seen in it reasons which led us to decide in favour of the 4 Circars, contiguous to the domains of the Company, defended by nature, free for the same reason from the irruptions of the brigands and other events so frequent in the Deccan. As for those in the interior of the country, besides the fact that they cannot be of any use for trade, which has always been the capital object, the disadvantages, which are so to say inseparable from them, are so numerous, and you can bring such little remedy to it, that you will yourself admit that we acted very prudently in fixing our choice on the 4 Circars. The Court and the Company in my opinion, would have commended our action, if the truth had been presented to them without any mixture of falsehood, disguised under borrowed colours of enlightened zeal and prudent politics.

Although all that has been amply narrated in the correspondence, you will not be sorry if I place before you again a precis of it.

In the Deccan, all the lands and districts are exposed to the ravages of the Marathas who make continuous raids. Although you are in peace with the main body of the nation, there are other various troops of brigands disowned by everyone whose exploits are pillage and rapine, which are followed by arson when the masters are on a campaign. That is the cause of the almost total devastation of the Deccan. We must, therefore, have, besides the army which ought to follow the Nawab, another corps equally large for the guard of these districts, and because of this primary preparation, the expenses would double. As we can guard them and collect revenues from them only by force of arms, the operation of taking possession would take place in the same manner, that is to say, after many fights and sieges during which a reverse, a little big one, would suffice to ruin us irretrievably in view of the enormous distance from any French factory. What

would be the means of establishing some communication with our factories from which we are separated by vast hostile territories? Our lands once devastated, even if only partly, what resource would we have, since the Nawab is not in a position to provide for the maintenance of our troops because of his finances? A short statement of his revenues and his domains will prove to you that there was no other course to follow than that we have taken.

The Deccan is composed of six subhas—Barhanpur or Khandesh, Aurangabad, Berar, Bijapur, Nanded, Golkonda or Hyderabad. The first has been given to Balajirao some years back by a treaty of peace in exchange of several fortresses on the banks of the Narmada which are not productive at all. From the second are derived about 8 lakhs which hardly serve for the maintenance of the troops necessary to protect it from the brigands of whom I have spoken above. The revenues of the third are also employed to defend it against the continuous raids of the Marathas of Raghuji. Bijapur is also pillaged every year, and almost nothing is derived from it. Nanded can be worth six or seven lakhs. Thus, there remains only the subha of Hyderabad of which the 4 Circars, which we have in mortgage, formed the best part, as they are protected by their situation from the incursions of the Marathas and of others. I ought to point out to you that the loss, which Raghuji sustained last year of more than 6000 to 7000 cavalry killed at the passages of the mountains by the zamindars, has led him and any other person to renounce the desire to reappear in these districts. The only subha of Hyderabad, as I have said it, thus forms almost all the revenues which Salabat Jang derives. It is worth about 80 lakhs from which one must deduct the Four Circars which have been given for 24 lakhs, the district of Condavir and the other domains of the Company, which reduces, as you see it, the revenues of such vast districts as those of the Deccan to very little. The Carnatic, the territory of the Pathans and the annual present which the Rajas of Mysore and Tanjaour owe to the Subhedar of the Deccan, this is what constituted the largest part of the revenues of Nizam-ul-mulk, of which Salabat Jang has been deprived so far by the troubles which have been reigning. After this detail, I revert again to the disadvantages for us in taking the lands in mortgage in the middle of the Deccan. The greatest of all and which alone sufficed to decide us in favour of the

Four Circars, is the right of Chauthai which the Marathas levy from all the provinces of the Deccan with the exception of those which are situated beyond the mountains, according to the treaty of donation made by the Emperor Alamgir or Aurangzeb which they abuse today to such a degree that they hardly leave the fourth part of the same revenues for the master and seize the rest. This is the cause, as I have said it, of the devastation of the Deccan. We would have thus been indebted and accountable to the Marathas because of this right, which would not have failed to occasion constant quarrels and dissensions. The zamindars, who again appear to you as a dis-advantage for the Four Circars, are neither less numerous nor less difficult to keep in control in the interior of the country. On the contrary, the continual incursions of unacknowledged men, with whom they have often an understanding, make them haughty because they believe that they are indispensable. I add to all these disadvantages that of an accident which would carry away Salabat Jang or the advent of some competitor who would appear to dispute the subha with him. In both the cases, what role would we play in the heart of the Deccan? The revolution, according to the usage, would stop all revenue for us, which eventuality we have not to fear in the districts which we have, where, in both the hypotheses, we retire and continue to collect the revenues as long as we like to keep them. We are even in a position to require much pressing to take, according to the circumstances, the decision which would suit us. Please allow me to compare still more closely the parallels.

First of all, Sir, have the kindness to reckon as reveries all the reports which have been made and are still being made to you about wars, troubles, revolts, alienation of people, etc., in the districts under mortgage. All these monsters begotten by lies have existed only in the imagination of those who speak to you about them. Mr. Saunders, while proposing to you the suspension of arms in the north, had no plan to stop the hostilities and movements of war which, he knows well, have never taken place, either with the English or with the others. What was then his object when he demanded that suspension should be general? Could it take place in this part where there has not been any hostility committed, and where actually there is not even the slightest likelihood of war with any one? His views are not

difficult to penetrate. He would be delighted to dictate law to the French here, as he appears to do to them in the Carnatic. But your firmness will, I hope, disturb his system. It is not the imaginary troubles of the Four Circars which led me to quit the Nawab and proceed there with my army. My plan was to reduce the expenses and I have executed it. No sooner did I arrive at Vijaywada, capital of Mustafanagar than I reformed the sipahees for about Rs. 48,000 per month, without which I could never have paid the arrears. Since, in spite of this reduction, the expenses of the army amounted still, according to the statement which I have sent you, to Rs. 2,29,773 as 8, which has just been further considerably reduced by my arrangements, as you have seen at the beginning of this letter, the wood and the iron, so rare in the Deccan, which I found here in abundance, have served to repair and renew the artillery and generally all the equipment in a short time and at much less expense. I have even sent 500 pieces of teak wood to Narsapur, for the account of the Company, and I have still 500 others ready to be sent there. I regulated the farmings without firing a shot even with the consent of the zamindars, reconciling their interests without forgetting ours, and I can say that, while quitting them, I am taking with me their affection and an assured of their attachment as much as one can do it with the Asiatics.

The reasons and motives which have guided my march in these districts and which stopped me there for 4 months will be the same every year. They would not change even when we would take other districts in exchange in the Deccan, because it is not natural to waste ourselves in expenses at the Court of the Nawab, a pure loss during the monsoon quarters. A simple detachment such as the one I have left with him suffices during this time of inaction.

Please pay some attention to the map of these districts which I am sending you. I shall not add anything to it to demonstrate the facility to preserve them. Nature has, so to say, undertaken to protect them from outside incursions and appears to have made of them a special domain. These Circars are far from being absolutely maritime as you have been given to understand. Mustafanagar and Elluru will never be suspected to be so. Rajahmundry belongs to the Coast only by a very small tip. Srikakulam, it is true, borders the sea, but because

of that, it is most advantageous of the 4 districts, since it offers at your choice establishments for commerce such as you desire them. I request you, Sir, to observe that of all the establishments the Europeans have on the Orissa Coast, only Vishakhapatnam depends on the Mughal government; all the others are under the dependency of the different zamindars with whom these Europeans have come to an agreement and from whom they have taken some villages on farm (that is of what the fouzders or Mughal governors before us have not taken note), just as the subhedar or the governor of the Carnatic has no quarrel with the European establishments which are situated on the Coromandel Coast except in the dependency of the King of Tanjaour, (?) who is, properly speaking, only a zamindar, a vassal of the subhedar or the Nawab of the Carnatic, as Vijay Ram Raja is of that of this place. For a better knowledge, I prepare for you a detail of the European establishments on this coast.

Palukal, a Dutch mart, dependent and which they hold on lease for 300 pagodas from the zamindar Venkat Ram Raja whose domains are situated between Elluru and the coast.

Madepalam, an English and Dutch mart on the banks of the river of Narsapur, abandoned and guarded by a peon, under the dependency also of Venkat Ram Raja.

Bandermonlanka, an English mart, established two years back, dependent on Vijay Ram Raja who has recently given them 4 villages on farm for 3000 pagodas or about.

Nelipily, Malarum, Dolekouron, Coringuy, Paterala, villages farmed out about three years ago to the English by Vijay Ram Raja, on whom they depend, for 1021 pagodas.

Chonkerpalam, an English mart, abandoned a long time back and now guarded by some peons; the land farmed out for 80 pagodas, dependent on Vijay Ram Raja.

Ingeram, also abandoned, sight of the English mart, exists without buildings, guarded by a peon for 13 years, also dependent on Vijay Ram Raja.

Caquenar, a Dutch mart, on the lands of the zamindar Niladirao, farmed out for 200 pagodas; Golepalom, dependent on the same zamindar, farmed out for 120 pagodas.

Vupar, a village which belongs to Niladirao where there is an English employee in a straw-house for trade of their Company which pays for the site.

Vishakhapatnam, an English factory dependent on Kassemcotte in the district of Srikakulam, which the English have recently taken on farm from Vijay Ram Raja. The English had for 2 to 3 years an employee at Ganjam who has been obliged to be withdrawn since several years.

Pondimarka, on the seashore, dependent on Vijay Ram Raja, situated 20 Km. to the south of Vishakhapatnam. All the European nations carry on trade in grains there.

I do not know Binpatam unless you wanted to speak of Nelipatam, situated, as you can notice it, on the coast between Vishkhapatnam and Biblipatam. It must be observed that if you wish to form new establishments for trade on the Orissa Coast, it is more proper to place ourselves under the dependency of the Mughal government than in the domains of the zamindars who have not the goodwill of the former and under whose authority it would be shameful to place oneself after having been their lords.

It is easy for you to see, Sir, from the details that we have nothing common with the European establishments on this coast, since they are not under the dependency of the government, although we have to deal with the zamindars on whose lands they are situated. We have no more interest to interfere than at Pondicherry and Madras when tranquillity reigns on the Coromandel Coast.

It appears that Mr. Saunders is overstepping the bounds (I do not say of moderation; in my opinion, he does not know this virtue) but of truth in claiming, in a tone of authority to include the French establishments on the Orissa Coast which neither depend on them nor are situated in their domains. What crowns his audacity is to join to them districts or appanages, which are, really speaking, villages of which they are only farmers at the sweet will of the zamindars and

the government to whom they pay the annual rent. You can judge, Sir, from this sample to what degree the English want to deceive.

The views of the Ministers and the Company are mysterious oracles which I am careful not to fathom. If the interests of Europe had some connection with the gifts of an Asiatic prince and if we cannot receive them without hurting the jealous delicacy of the English whom we must placate at our expense, I have nothing to reply, except that France had always appeared to me an independent and absolute monarchy. The disposition of the English you say, is to sacrifice everything to trade, why should we not do the same? Besides, I know that there is sometimes a State policy (and it is perhaps the case in which we are) which prevents you from profiting by your advantages.

To execute now the project which you propose concerning the exchange of the Four Circars against other districts out of sight of the English, besides all the disadvantages which I have narrated above, we must establish as a principle that far from discharging our debts, we shall triple them; it would be much if we could collect one-third of the revenues of the first year. It is what we have experienced in the Four Circars and what has occasioned our present debts. The present revolutions, you tell me, and those with which we are threatened, seem to warn us to profit by the moment, whilst there is still time. Should I apply this reflection to India or to Europe? Whatever may be its application, the appointment of Muhammad Ali Khan to the government of Arcot, will do us, in my opinion, a great damage.

The retrocession of these districts, if it takes place, must be done with much caution in order to enable us to assure the maintenance of the army elsewhere, and derive the advantage which had been proposed to be established for trade on this coast, and not to give the impression to the whole of Asia that it is out of deference to the authority of the English that we quit what has been given to us. To such talks, what should I reply for the honour of the nation, yours and mine? Must I force by this step the Mughals and the Marathas to recover from the illusion which they had formed so far? and that they should both reproach themselves for not preferring the alliance of the English to ours? The conclusion of all that I have just

said is to preserve the lands under mortgage or recall the troops from the Deccan. Will they (the authorities in France) consent to it when they will feel of what importance it is to preserve ourselves in the place in which we are, to protect the old concessions as well as to have the facility to form for ourselves new establishments of which you speak to me ? Add to that the extent and the protection of trade which we can obtain only from the master whom we ourselves protect.

It does not appear doubtful that the suspension of arms should be a means towards peace so desirable. I wish that it should be as honourable as the Court (as you have pointed it out to me) desires it. One Muhammad Ali Khan becomes Nawab of Arcot by this single stroke, the minds are conciliated, the English, happy to give to the Carnatic a master of their choice, will, without appearing to do so, dictate the law in the province as we would have done with Chanda Saheb. Muhammad Ali Khan, who never believed that he could occupy this post whilst there remained a single Frenchman in India, will have no more anything to desire. Thus, it will not be difficult, I think, to bring him to a point which you desire for the compensation of the expenses of the war which rendered his fate uncertain for such a long time. Besides, it is the English, his masters, whom it is more proper to sound on this point. He will acquiesce as a slave in everything which they will decide ; we must expect that he will not promise anything without their knowledge. Salabat Jang, while giving him the paravana of the Province of Arcot, will dispatch it to him without any other reserve or condition than those which concern his interests as Subhedar of the Deccan. How can I solicit for Muhammad Ali Khan, as you point it out to me, without appearing to be openly interested in his favour ? It is useless to delude ourselves ; no one in the Deccan and the Carnatic will be lured on this point ; There will be none, In that case, who does not think and speak openly that Muhammad Ali Khan will be the Nawab of Arcot by the authority and the protection of the English in spite of the French. That is what the former have begun to publicise everywhere.

There arises on this point a reflection which has so much connection with what preceds that I must neither omit nor defer to communicate it to you. Salabat Jang, in his capacity as the Subhedar of the Deccan is sure to demand the usual tribute from the Rajas of Mysore and

Tanjaour, and the price of the farming of Arcot when his affairs permit it to him. He descends into the Carnatic to personally oblige those, who owe him, the tribute, to satisfy him. In this hypothesis, which is not chimeric but which will perhaps be realised shortly if the affairs are settled in the Deccan, we shall accompany Salabat Jang. Muhammad Ali Khan, however great a nobleman he is made to be, is, as compared with the Subhedar of the Deccan, only a farmer removable at his pleasure. Since he feels himself supported by the English to whom he will owe everything he will trouble himself little to pay and will pay scant heed to the orders of his master. The English, in their turn, interested in maintaining Muhammad Ali Khan in this post will oppose with all their might the legitimate claims of Salabat Jang. Whatever agreements they have made, whatever protestations and oaths which pledge them no longer to interfere with the affairs of the Mughal government, they will not allow the Subhedar of the Deccan to act against Muhammad Ali Khan and still less will they endure that he should oust him and substitute in his place another with whom they would not be able to dictate the law. However, as I have said it, we shall accompany Salabat Jang whom we shall not support with less ardour than that with which the English protect Muhammad Ali Khan, his farmer. From the circumstance, it results that the appointment of the latter to the subha of Arcot is a sure pledge of an unavoidable war in the proposed case, or to avoid it puts us in that of abandoning Salabat Jang, who will then see the necessity to ally himself rather with the English than with us, the only means which he will have to turn Muhammad Ali Khan to account. Of what importance is the future for us, you will ask me? It is true that if we do not intend to keep troops with Salabat Jang, this reflection does not arise. But at the same time, the comparison which will be made between the English and the French will not be to the advantage of the latter and in my opinion, will influence commercial affairs to a great extent. These are not conjectures; it is a sure prognostic based on the knowledge of the political government of this country.

Muhammad Ali Khan, once recognised as Subhedar of Arcot, Salabat Jang will be obliged to be allied with him and the English, as I have said it and you ought to expect to see all the correspondence stopped between him and the French with respect to this province. It is with

Muhammad Ali Khan and his allies that he will correspond as he would have done with Chanda Saheb and you. It is, therefore, only subsequently that we will feel the weight of the chains which we ascribe to ourselves.

The news which is given to you about the north and which you have kindly communicated to me, appears to me to come from a source, which is not only unreliable but which disregards all probability. If you have knowledge of the affairs of this Empire; you will admit that Salabat Jang has no longer anything to fear from the son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan. What likelihood is there that this noble has views on the Deccan, when he is Vazir of the Empire, absolute master of the monarchy and of the monarch? Balajirao, since many years that fortune has been favouring him, wishes, it is true, to become master of the Deccan. But the high degree of power, which he has attained among his nation, has created for him too many jealous persons so that neither he nor his brother is allowed to aggrandise himself to this point. It is absolutely false that his brother solicits the Deccan. This brother by name Rago Pandit has retired to the district of Mathura. He had a big quarrel with Holkar, a Maratha chief, antagonist of Balajirao and the perpetrator of the revolution of Delhi, for, it is proper that you should know that the son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan only lends his name. The great preparations of Balajirao are again the invention of the newsmongers. Be that as it may, the new Emperor is only thinking of humbling the power of the Marathas. You can rest assured that this Court, however greedy it may be of money, will never consent to give the government of the Deccan to the Marathas. It is not more reasonable to believe that Raghuji follows the orders of Balajirao on the Four Circars; the former is absolutely independent of the latter. The former had offered 50 lakhs, as present to the Court of Delhi last year and 50 lakhs as rent every year for the subha of the Deccan. You should be convinced, Sir, that this Empire is the seat of independence, each one seeks to rise there, no matter how. Balajirao, who is a Brahmin and for that very reason incapable of reigning in his nation, supports himself in spite of so many jealousies only by the superiority of his forces. His troops have just suffered a reverse on the side of Delhi at the hands of the Jat nation of the subha of Agra. This is what occupies him at the present moment.

If you would be kind enough to rely on the news which I shall make it a point to communicate to you, you will not run any risk of being deceived. If you deem it proper to give credence to that which is spread in the public by people who put on a knowing look and who have not the scantiest knowledge of the intrigues and interests of this vast Empire, you will have often occasion to realise that it is only a tissue of lies and falsehoods. Allow me, Sir to terminate by a conclusion to which everything that is contained in this long letter is related. There are only two courses to follow, either to keep all that we have and rejoin Salabat Jang, or quit him and recall the troops if we wish to relinquish what he has given. Any other combination is useless and impracticable.

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 284-289

From the French Camp
November 29, 1754

From M. de Bussy to M. Le Godeheu.

The Statement of the forms of the 4 districts under mortgage which you will find attached herewith assures all at one the subsistence of the army of the Deccan and prepares the ways for the discharge of the old debts which, far from being multiplied, will begin to be liquidated by the application of the revenues of Condavir for this purpose. So much order, an arrangement brought to this degree of perfection in all its parts, necessarily supposes most profound peace and most perfect understanding with the zamindars. Does one require any greater proof to dispel the fear of this so-called domestic war of which you have been given such a horrible picture and of which they (enemies of Dupliex) want to show you the fatal consequences, less to reveal to you the truth than to justify in some way the mischievous counsels (I venture to use this term) which they proposes to give to you.

It is neither by coercion nor by threat and less still be violence that I have succeeded in putting in these districts order and harmony of

which I have just spoken. No foreigner has thwarted my operations. The people have co-operated in it. All have accepted the authority without a protest because they found it equally just and reasonable. I fortunately succeeded to a degree so desirable without having any recourse to my army whose arrears, as I have already pointed it out to you, have been paid from zilcade or September 1753 to Zilhese or October 1754, which comes to 13 months. That is not all. After putting order in these districts, the question was to introduce it among our block troops because of the difficulty in which we have always been to fully meet the salary of these troops. We had been obliged to tolerate many abuses. The difficulty has just been raised and the abuses stopped. To put discipline among these troops and conduct them as we like, the question was again to find advances to pay their accounts from the first of zilhese of this year till today the 18th of Safar which comes to two and a half months and which carries away the sum of nearly two lakhs. I could not obtain from the farms such large advances because the payment is to be made on different terms and after the sale of the grains according to the usage. It was, therefore, necessary to find this sum from different purses; the sale of several article, which I had, gave me some money, a part of it was furnished by Hyder Jang of whom I have already spoken to you and to whom I had requested you to write; he has himself drawn from several purses, having obtained by these means sufficient money to pay our troops, I was in a position to reduce the pay and the number of officers to be paid, increase the sums and make them accept an arrangement which I have been mediating for such a long time to have them accept their salary in tanka or in rescriptions on the farmers of our districts without being held responsible to furnish them cash wherever I may go. Besides, the general advantage which I find in this system, I find in it a personal one which protects me from catastrophs so usual when you owe to the people of the country.

All that done, I am approaching the frontiers of the Deccan. Before leaving. I installed M. De la Selle at Rajahmundry as Collector of this district. If one judges it proper to maintain during my absence the order which I have established, peace and tranquillity are assured. With me the affection of the people is important. The zamindars, quite artful as we have a right to suppose them, are still more interested.

I have been able to find their interests so well with owes that they can hardly be hostile to us without harming themselves. It is, in my opinion, a well secured guarantee of their fidelity.

The present state of the Deccan offers nothing but a pleasing aspect for the Nawab and for us. Raghuji, whose movements to caused some anxiety, is on the point of death. Whether he is cured or whether he dies, peace is not less assured with him on conditions which have nothing onerous. Balajirao amuses himself in sending a part of his forces to Hindustan and has no desire to break the treaty. Delhi appears to be more attached than ever to Salabat Jang. Emperor Alamgir sends him along with the firman of the Deccan, the Mayemarat, a neckless of pearls, and an elephant, unusual distinctions. The Nawab must have actually received it. This Court is always very agitated. A young prince on the mother side of the ruling King of Persia arrived there whom the Emperor received with great honours, and whom he keeps in a manner suitable to his birth. A Pathan noble called Adil Shah is advancing towards Lahore, the key to the Mughal Empire on the side of Persia with an army of 1,80,000 men. He is preceded by his son at the head of 25,000 men who, as soon as they arrived at Lahore, the capital town of this subha, sent a messenger to signify to the Emperor whether he would like to risk the fate of a battle or surrender the place which he occupies.

Ahmad Abdali, a Persian, had thrown some years ago the same challenge which had no sequence because other affairs obliged him to return promptly to Persia.

There is a likelihood that it will be likewise in this part Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the Vazir charged with the government of this vast empire, is occupied with quite a different affair than inciting troubles in the Deccan and thinks only of maintaining his position. The Nawab and his minister, who have advanced as far as Bidar with short stages, as they inform me about it by a dromedary messenger who arrived yesterday, are waiting only for me to definitely settle the operations of the campaign.

Allow me, Sir, before returning to the territory of the Nawab, to expose before you open heartedly my situation and my arrangements

relating to the events which are preparing. I shall not conceal from you that the news, which is spreading of an impending renunciation of everything that we possess in this part, does a great harm to our affairs; my personal reputation has supported us in the mind of the Mughals and the chiefs of the country. One must know the genius of the Asiatic nations to agree that the reputation of the chief is always the support of the body which he commands. The French nation (I venture to say it) had no other resources especially since the departure of M. Dupleix whom the Nawab and the Mughals continue to regret. I have accomplished my career in the Deccan without reverses, defeats and disgrace. My reputation has always gone on increasing to the degree of being an arbitrator of the differences and hold in equilibrium at my will the interests of the different powers which share this Empire. The sovereign (I mean the Mughal Emperor) by authentic letters to M. Dupleix and to me, has confirmed the gifts and applauded the generosity of Salabat Jang in favour of the nation and envies him for his good fortune because he has us in his service.

Please cast your looks on this perspective. It is not at all flattering; it even represents so many fine objects only with faint colours which lose much when they are looked at only from a distance. Tell me, Sir, what a strange person you wish me to play by returning to the Mughal nation what it has given forever in recognition of so many services which it then thought that it was paying only poorly. I do not speak of the districts under mortgage. They have been given only on the condition of maintaining troops with the Nawab. Of course, as soon as we cease to fulfil this condition, the districts ought to return to their source and with them the favour of which we are the depositaries. I speak of the domains which have been given to us as a pure gift and of which we have taken possession in the name of the King and with which we cannot part without covering ourselves with disgrace, without running trade and preparing the means for the total expulsion of the French from India. Once again, the domains, which are calculated only to increase the trade of the Company, cannot render it a territorial powerful. How can he, who obtained them with so much difficulty, undertake today to returning them? What shift will he use for that purpose? Heroism of generosity is a pure chimera; I have already pointed it out to you, it will not deceive

anyone. Besides, how can we ask for other places for trade when one returns those which are most suitable for it? Will they not reply: "Keep what you have got; who recommends you to return it?" or rather, realising the motive which urges us to part with what we possess, will they not reply to us contemptuously; "We have nothing to give you. Moreover, Machchalipatnam has been since times immemorial the centre of trade of this coast, why do you quit it? It belongs to you, who is obliging you to surrender it?" Once again, Sir, what part shall I play, shall I follow the course of silence or shall I use a language contrary to that which I have used during the last four years at the Court of the Nawab? You will confess to me, Sir, that to oblige him who has made the glory of the nation, who is the author of its prosperities and to whom the Mughals have given all that it possesses partly for his consideration, to oblige him, I repeat it, to himself endeavour for the destruction of his work, attempt the disgrace of seeing his nation fall back into a kind of nothingness from which he pulled it out by the continuous efforts of four years of labour. What do I say while precipitating it into it with his own hand, without experiencing any defeat or disgrace, without any other reason than the fear of displeasing a nation eternally jealous of the prosperities of ours! Oh! It is too much to require of him and if it comes to that, I request you to charge another with this mission. I cannot be all at once the oracle of the Deccan, see my labour crowned in this part with the most glorious successes for my nation and play a role which, while degrading it and ruining its trade, would dishonour me. I am too jealous of my glory not to renounce rather for ever the Deccan and India.

Moreover, I do not claim, Sir, either to censure or examine your designs, or your intentions, not either those of the Minister and of the Company. These are the oracles and the decrees to which I submit without hesitation as well as without any rejoinder. I refer in what I say to nothing but the knowledge furnished to me by a long experience of India and the zeal, in which I glory, for the general weal of my nation, conducted by these guides, I have forgotten nothing to procure it the advantages of trade and establish it in a manner not to have anything to fear from the revolutions so frequent in this country.

If my system, quite solid as it is, is not approved for reasons of which I am not aware and which I am careful not to wish to penetrate, I shall not add anything more to what I have just said except a reflection which presents itself naturally, and shall keep silent.

I think, Sir, that it could only be because of the most deceitful illusion that they (authorities in France) thought of re-entering the state of neutrality which was observed formerly with the government of the country. Would it be in the interest of the Company that it should also re-enter the earlier state of dependence and mediocrity for its trade in which it was before all these events? This course is easy; we can re-enter it. We ought even to expect to fall all the lower as the fall will take place from a higher state. It would be making a mistake to imagine that our rivals will return to this earlier state. They might promise it, quite resolved not execute their promise. Our fall will raise them too high not to pursue their grant, and not to profit by all the advantage which we shall yield to them. We would imagine in vain to be able to return to it. It will no longer be possible without risking openly to be expelled from India. A year's war in Europe will suffice to lose irretrievably all our colonies and our establishments. Our enemies know like us the weakness of the Mughal Government and the facility to dominate them. We have lost old prejudices. We appreciate today the terms like governors, nawab, princes or king of a country. All these so-called noblemen are only farmers with respect to whom we must keep our rank as masters unless we wish to be their dupes and their slaves. That was the role of the European nations before all these events. If the French revert to this earlier state, we must expect that the English, profiting by their decadence, will imperceptibly ruin their trade and at the first signal of war in Europe we shall be expelled from India. Whatever they may promise, let us have no doubt about it, they will succeed us in the riches which are in our power, will seize the favour of the masters whom we shall have abandoned and shall be the instruments of our ruin. No, Sir, hope of a neutrality between the two Companies in case of war in Europe cannot reassure us against all the reasons which I have just exposed.

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 251-252

From the French Army

December 25, 1754

M. Dupleix de Bacquencourt

If I am to consult only the ardour and the sincerity of my wishes and prayers, I do not doubt that you would presently enjoy the presence of your uncle, and I hope that the length and the discomforts of the voyage have not affected his health. I hasten to congratulate you on it and participate in the common joy of a family which I esteem, and if you permit me to give expression to my feelings, I shall add, which is dear to me. Your uncle is a living history of the affairs of India. I have, therefore, dispensed with giving you their details.

I request you, Sir, in case the purchase of the estate with which you have been kind enough to charge yourself is not a concluded affair, to hasten its conclusion. Your uncle assured me, at the time of his departure, that he was extremely anxious to know that I am in possession of it. My brother established at Metz and M. Marion de Mersan are charged with managing this estate according to my instructions. I solicit you to steal from your important occupations and from the pleasure of meeting your uncle some moments to give the last touch to this affair. I have charged my brother and M. Marion to express all my gratitude to you until I can myself and by word of mouth discharge this duty.

Your uncle to whom I am devoted during all by life, has expressly recommended to me not to abandon the game until I am forced to do so by the dishonour of the nation. This is what has prevented me from following him. I shall continue to sacrifice all my views to his, but I am very much afraid the edifice may crumble. We are cruelly tricked by the English. I have made the strongest representations to the Commissioner on all the affairs of India. I hope that they will make effect. I am sending all the papers to your uncle. His enemies are endeavouring to give advice, all the more pernicious

as it is dictated by ignorance and passion. They would like to take their vengeance at the expense of the glory and the interests of their nation. What a fine vengeance ! But besides, on what will these grovelling minds take their vengeance ? On the kindnesses of M. Dupleix and the fact that, being free to crush them as they deserved it and avenge himself of their illwill, he overwhelmed them with kindness and preserved them in their places. Whatever may happen, M. Le Marquis, in all that touches him and you, Sir, particularly, rest assured that I shall remain throughout my life most devoted and most attached of your servants.

De Bussy

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 253-254

From the French Army

December 25, 1754

Madame La Marquise Dupleix

Madam,

I received your letters of the 10th and 11th October. The tokens of affection with which they are filled have penetrated me. I wish I could express to you the impression your departure has made on me. The souvenir, always, present, of all the kindnesses with which you always loaded me, has become more intense and has revealed to me all that I owe you and what I am losing because of your absence. The hope of a closer union which ever makes me endure my grief, will also protracts me the kind of exile in which I am with respect to you and the entire family which you henceforth permit me to consider as mine, because of the gift which you confer on me of what you possess as dearest. I must consider you as a tender mother who, having given me so many tokens of kindness when I was a stranger to her, will constitute my happiness when I would belong to her. Please receive the sincere protestations of a son who looks upon your departure with grief, who is alarmed at the dangerous of a long voyage, who desires to share its discomforts and would like to suffer them all alone to have the satisfaction to spare them

for you. The turn, the affairs will take here and the advice of Monsieur Le Marquis Dupleix, will decide my return to Europe. It will be with the keenest alacrity that I shall unite myself with what occupies my affections and my desires. I deliver my interests in your hands and request you not to forget the assurances which you give me by your last letters. My mother, who lives in the provinces, is too advanced in age to be able to see you. Wherever she may be, she will always be your servant and your friend. I had charged M. Marion to settle her on the estate which Monsieur de Bacquencourt was charged to buy for me. I request you to urge M. Le Marquis to conclude this affair, so that my mother enjoys during her old age a fortune, which, since the death of my father, has left her only mediocrity as her share. Goodbye, my very dear mother and very beloved Mamma. I recommend the adorable Chonchon and my interests in this respect to you.

M. Gaverelle, of whom you speak to me in your letter is a miserable fellow whom I have been obliged to dismiss from this army. He is going to leave for Europe, he says. I urge you to mistrust him. He is neither a supporter of M. Dupleix nor of anything which belongs to him. What is true, is that he carries with him hatred and general contempt. I am sending you the copy of an anonymous letter which I received concerning him as soon as I had dismissed him. You will see his character in it. Good bye once again my dear Mamma. Since you judge it necessary, I shall stick here as long as I can do so honourably, but I am very much afraid that all this change may turn to the dishonour of the nation. I have made the strongest representations on this subject. I hope that they will create the desired effect. I am sending all the papers to Monsieur Le Marquis Dupleix. Goodbye, my dear and honoured mother. I embrace thousand times you, dear Chonchon and my dear benefactor and friend, Monsieur Le Marquis.

I remain with the most tender attachment,

Madam and dear Mother

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

De Bussy

B.N., N. A. F., 9159, f. 272-272 v°

Translation of a letter written in Persian to Monsieur Dupleix, by the Nawab, as it appears from the address on the envelope. The name of the sovereign or prince, from whom it is, is in Indian characters in the impress of the seal.

The support of his equals among the French, the powerful and illustrious nobleman. Let him continue to be so by the aid of God who is the Lord of Glory, and let him be crowned with victory with the help of his courage and his valour. Let him continually revel in joy and perfect happiness.

Our desire to see him back again and enjoy his courteous and pleasant conversation is so intense that the tenth part of it cannot be expressed either by the feeble language of the pen or by the most forceful expressions which such a short letter can contain. That is why I am forced to embellish it with prayers and wishes which I owe him. I, therefore, prostrate myself morning and evening towards the Court of Eternal God who has no equal, and pray to him to bestow the continuation of the possession of wealth and health on the noblest and most accomplished person.

Although the sense of sight is not gratified by the enjoyment of the presence of his person, nevertheless on the other hand, as the bonds of correspondence, which is but a feeble substitute for the (personal) interview, and the relations occasioned by the affairs, have given rise to fortified, affirmed and augmented, the mutual friendship, since the day when, by the order of the Sultan of the French (the renown of whose trenchant and victorious glory and that of his great exploits is known and spread among all the princes of Indian, Iran and Turan, Europe and Asia) he has left for his country. It is brighter than the sun. That having performed on this coast such meritorious deeds and rendered such signal services, under the auspices and the power of the great Sultan, he must have been, on his arrival, the object of his favourable attentions, welcomes and honours. It is also certain that since the day of his departure, my heart has not enjoyed any peace and that my friendship cannot be stronger. I hope that this benevolent good will grant him a prompt

return to the place of his usual residence with the accomplishment of everything that his great heart desires, for, the eyes of expectation are fixed on the road, and that he will continue to support the glory of this great Sultan in this country, just as he has supported it so well, which circumstance we desire most ardently, because the bonds of friendship, which men have together, are the support and the surest means for the success of the greatest affairs. That is why it is absolutely necessary that he should obtain the permission to return with the fulfilment of his desires and that his presence should dazzle the nobles of this country and tranquillise the hearts of friends.

I the undersigned, Secretary-Interpreter to the King, certify that I have translated the above letter from the original.

Paris, September 9, 1755.

C²-86 of 73-77

Copy of a letter written by M. de Bussy to M. Godeheu

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang
near Adoni in Vijapur, 22nd February, 1755.

Sir,

The more I reflect on what you have written to me, the less I find any plausible pretext for the English to carry their jealous claims in the north. The specious motive to support a rival against the Nawab, whom the French wanted to instal at Arcot and the very advantages which the fate of arms has given them in this respect, could indeed justify their action in some way with the Asiatics and cover their real design, which is only to supplant us. But in the north and particularly on the Orissa Coast, only an open rupture and a declared war between the two crowns could authorize their enterprises. Could they allege some right of reprisals? But what wrong has been done to them? Have there been even any differences with them in this part? Could they allege even any alliance? But there has not been so far any claimant who has either dared contend with the Subhedar of the Deccan for the possession, even the proprietorship of the Four districts or the privilege of bestowing them on the French or on any one whom he wished to reward with his gifts or whose services he wanted to acknowledge.

However, let us not be mistaken ! Rivalry gives a free rein to unpleasant wranglings. Our antagonists, for want of solid reasons, could even find in it pretexts for their ambition. I think it would be prudent to anticipate them and in our interest to prevent them. On this point, to comply with your request, allow me to hazard here views and plans which experience and reflection have promoted in me. Moreover, these are ideas which I submit to you and they will become yours when you correct them.

I therefore say that so long as the English hold Muhammad Ali Khan in their shackles, their enterprises, followed by a few successes, cannot fail to delude the Muhamedans, who, in accordance with their genius, always admire heroic actions, without bothering either about the justice of the motives or the validity of the means which have produced them. It is, therefore, important for us to strike at the root of the evil and deprive them of this phantom of authority with which they palliate their outrages by detaching Muhammad Ali Khan from their alliance. The enterprise, I admit it, is full of difficulties. But they are not at all insurmountable. There is no comparison between the disadvantages and the advantages. The attempt cannot harm our affairs. The success will be, in my opinion, a coup d'etat which will crown everything we can wish for — a tempting motive which seems to exclude the alternative and impel us to take, without hesitation, measures most suitable to achieve our purpose.

These measures are not at all complicated. For this negotiation we must employ only a single person who, in accordance with the usage of this country, ought to initiate it, sustain it and bring it to a successful issue. No official capacity from us which might make him suspect that he is our confidential agent ; least possible direct correspondence with this man, for, a single letter intercepted by our rivals can cause our whole edifice to collapse.

Shrewd and crafty as are the kind of men who are employed for such negotiations, he will negotiate directly with Muhammad Ali Khan. After sounding him and even pumping him, if it is permitted to use this expression solemnly, he will cleverly insinuate to him that nothing can assure him the peaceful possession of Arcot than by gaining the friendship of the French, by living on best terms with them, in short,

by being what Chanda Saheb was to them that in order to create and preserve harmony between him and us for a long time, by way of a preliminary, both sides must forget all old quarrels and generally the whole past.

He will explain to him that, as he can be the Nawab of Arcot only by the investiture of the Subhedar of the Deccan he must be convinced that he will never obtain this grace so long as the French oppose his elevation and that they will oppose it so long as he will be in the hands of the English ; that if, on the contrary, he breaks away from them and if the French offer him their mediation, he will definitely obtain through them a sure support against who ever would wish to supplant him.

This is, Sir, the basis for the negotiation and the only means to bring it to a successful end. I shall now come to the difficulties which make the success of this enterprise doubtful.

I am longer consider the difficulty of negotiating with Muhammad Ali Khan as of any consequence. The conditional treaty, which you have just concluded, seems to have removed it. But supposing even that Muhammad Ali Khan has, as there is reason to assume it, the firm resolution to shake off the yoke of the English, can he easily do so ? Will not the latter, too into rested in keeping him in their bondage, employ for this purpose all sorts of means, even violence, if it is necessary ? That is the first difficulty. There is another which is not less serious : the English have garrisons in all the large fortresses in the Carnatic ; if Muhammad Ali Khan renounces their alliance they will refuse him admission into them.

To the first difficulty, it may be replied that the conditional treaty and the inaction, resulting from it, ought to favour the design which Muhammad Ali Khan, might have of extricating himself and his brothers, from the hands of the English.

To the second difficulty, it may be replied that it will not be impossible for Muhammad Ali Khan to take measures to take possession of the places, which the English are holding, before breaking away from them ; once again the inaction, resulting from the conditional treaty, can facilitate for him the means.

But there is a third difficulty of quite a different importance from these. When Muhammad Ali Khan renounces the alliance of the English to embrace ours, what means will these rivals, frustrated of their hopes, not use to take revenge on both Muhammad Ali Khan and ourselves? Can they not oppose us a rival of their own making? Can they not, indeed, to palliate the second outrage, choose one of the brothers of Muhammad Ali Khan, if it were not possible to pull them out of their hands at the same time as himself?

It is hardly possible to give a satisfactory reply on this difficulty to who ever knows the enterprising geniues of our rivals. I do not undertake it. It is, however, true that our antagonists, while introducing a new hero on the scene, besides thus raising for the second time the flag of the Nation against the legitimate master, would invite the public hatred of the whole of Indian Asia and would be considered by all the native princes as disturbers of peace. I do not know how they could justify their change in Europe. They had made the greatest efforts to instal Muhammad Ali Khan at Arcot. The latter convinced by an unfortunate experience of their impotency, uses other means than their arms to achieve his goal, he succeeds and finally renounces an alliance which has been and which still is to him less useful than onerous, is he wrong? And if the English take a decision, which goes against him, will they not clearly prove that it was solely their interest which they were seeking and not at all that of their ally whom they wished to give themselves in the person of Muhammad Ali Khan, not as a master but as a ward?

Moreover, we must indeed take care not to solicit in advance, as you seem to desire it, the Paravana for Muhammad Ali Khan. This document, to be dispatched with all the customary rites and ceremonies, passes through too many hands to remain secret for a long time. Now, would it not be equally dangerous if it came to the knowledge, either of Muhammad Ali Khan himself or of the English, his allies, before the termination of the negotiation? The latter would not fail to upset our measures; the former might exercise a title, which he would know, has been dispatched for him. What does it matter, if we were in possession of it, to people accustomed to support wrong causes? But if once we are allies of Muhammad Ali Khan, it will then be time to prove to

him in proper form that he is indebted to us for his elevation and convince him, by ourselves delivering to him the Paravana which assures it to him, that if he needed our mediation to achieve his goal, our protection is equally necessary for him to maintain himself. Then alone shall we be as much authorised to support our new ally as the English, disowned by the Subhedar of the Deccan and even by him whom they had installed at Arcot, will be deprived of all motives to declare war.

As for the affairs of the Deccan, they completely satisfy the idea which the Court and the Company appear to have formed to them. They can be considered as the basis of the aggrandizement of the French in India. Our actual position is too good to neglect the advantages which may revert to us from it. On my part, I shall make fresh efforts to preserve for the Nation this ascendancy and this superiority which endears it to her allies, inspire awe in its enemies and create respect in the whole of India.

But I request you not to forget the fact that it is the product of Asian politics of which I have servilely followed the rules and usages. It will be only by following servilely the same rule that I would be able to support our interests and our glory, preserve our old alliances and from new ones, as you recommend it to me. For that purpose, it is necessary that I should act with full liberty from which the affairs of the Nation have so far derived so many advantages. My zeal, in spite of all the suspicions jealousy may have aroused, has never been in doubt. All that experience and knowledge of the Muhamedans and the genius of the Asiatics have furnished me as means to procure glory and advantage for my nation, I have turned it to account for her interests. The present position of the French in the north is an incontestable proof of it. My zeal is always the same, but a strange idea may unconsciously disturb its operations and cut the thread of an important affair. However, do not think, Sir, that I intend to exclude your views. On the contrary, I solicit you to communicate them to me, they will strengthen my steps. I do, not refer to your views. It is quite certain that they ought to serve as a guidance for all my operations and on all the full powers which you were kind enough to bestow on me. I must caution you that if you ever learnt that I assume a

haughty tone with those whose alliance and friendship I intend to preserve, you should not be alarmed by it. Caresses and promises, which savour of entreaty, degrade him who makes them and make him proud who receives them. You can conduct your affairs better with a pride at least equal to that of the Asiatic with whom you have to negotiate and by impressing upon him that if you are not his friend, you will be his enemy.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

C²-86, F. 88 v^o-93

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang

2nd March, 1755

Copy of a letter written to the Members of the Committee and
received by M. de Leyrit.

Gentlemen,

By a letter which the Commissioner-General wrote to me on the 22nd January to inform me of his departure for Europe, he charged me to continue my mission in the Deccan and support the affairs, relating to the interest of the Nation until the replies are received from Europe, that is to say, said M. Le Godeheu, for 17 to 18 months, and he ordered me at the same time to keep you informed of every item concerned. The charge would appear unbearable to me, if the same zeal, which has supported me so far, were not still to animate me. I respect the order and find it gratifying, since it leads me to hope that you will help me with your views. I shall, therefore, make it my business and a pleasure to comply with it. To begin which, I would place before you the correct position of our present affairs in the Deccan. But it will suffice, I think, if you cast a glance on my correspondence with M. Le Godeheu and especially on my letters of the 8th and the 20th February and even those of the 14th and the 30th January. You will find in them the real state of our affairs. I cannot present them under a more favourable aspect to citizens zealous enough as you are. You will be happy to see them that always controlling the favour of the Prince we serve, it entirely depends on us to derive the greatest advantage from it for the benefit of commerce and of the State, but you will

also find them that the more handsome our situation is, the more we have to dread the shafts of envy. Our rivals, perhaps realising better than us the importance of the position we occupy, there is no sort of springs which they may not have pulled to deprive us of it. You will indeed see in the letters mentioned above that I had warned the Commissioner that Muhammad Ali Khan has made offers to Salabat Jang to render him the same services through his allies as we have been rendering him for the last five years. The conditional treaty which has just been signed, may, it is true, put an end to all these intrigues, but should we be so lulled into security as not keep a watch on the proceedings of our antagonists? Their ambition might indeed still find pretexts to give some twist to the most solemn treaty. Their desire to occupy a place at the court of the Subhedar of the Deccan is no more a paradox. Their rivalry is an established act; it has enough ingenuity to find means to achieve its end. Unable to supplant us straightaway, as they have tried it in vain, they have confined themselves to purposing to share with us the functions which we have been performing alone at the Court of the Subhedar of the Deccan, no doubt expecting to achieve, in course of time, by their presence what the efforts of their agents could not do so far (to expel us completely). Would it not be to confirm us in this good faith and throw a mask on their ambition that they make a show of much indifference and that they have said in more than one place and on more than one occasion that they consider Salabat Jang as a weak prince whose favour is a shallow advantage? But could they say it today honestly, if they are informed (and how would they not be) of all the forces which this Prince sets in motion, actually more than 120,000 men marching under his banner and assuring him the respect and homage of so many self-styled Kings, whom the mere ignorance of the Europeans has ushered in, whom it considers as independent and invincible and who are, after all, only vassals and subjects of Salabat Jang. And his authority is all the more powerful as it is supported by the most legitimate right. He is really Viceroy of the Deccan and as such he governs as an absolute sovereign this portion of the States of the Mughal Emperor. It is him that all the Muhamedan and Maratha powers recognize as their master. It is he who disposes of Governments, who instals and dethrones whomsoever he pleases, who crushes, whenever he likes, him whom he charges with his indignation. Such

is the Prince whose weakness our antagonists are pleased to proclaim. Whose fault was it if one doubted what he can? When he saw that a province, whose disposal belongs to him as much as of those which constitute the heart of his Kingdom, was being authoritatively disposed of by the treaty which has just been concluded, these who would have had to bear the brunt of the storm would have known to their cost if he is a weak Prince. But is it not to be presumed that our rivals have pretended by this language to mask their designs and intrigues? If that is a delusion, it ought to vanish the moment we know for certain that they are offering to Salabat Jang their alliance and their friendship. That will be confessing that they know as well as we do, his strength and his power. Whatever it may be, I think that in spite of their protestations of indifference and even our confidence in treaties, it would be advisable for us to be on our guard, if we do not want to be, at the least expected moment, the dupes of our good faith and of our security.

Finally, you will see, in the letters I have mentioned, what I pointed out to the Commissioner on the question of the Nawab's plan to march into Mysore, the only means of restoring a bit his finances by the extraction of the tribute due to him since troubles have been prevalent in the Carnatic. By his last letter, the Commissioner charges me to communicate to the Nawab a system conceived by him on this subject. I know how the execution of this order could compromise my credit and that of the Nation, but I know only how to obey. Although, in my exposition, I employed arguments allowing me the greatest scope to shift, it I was quite unable to make use of it cannot tell you how much the Nawab was surprised to find us formally opposed to his interests and solely attached to ours (these are his expressions). But nothing shocked him, him and his Council, more than to hear us declare that his expedition of Mysore would be more harmful than advantageous to his affairs. "This sentiment," said he, "can only be dictated by your own interest. Is this then the return for the benefits which I have showered on the French? Should I not, on the contrary, expect, on their part, greatest attachment to the real benefit of my affairs? And what can restore them if it is not the expedition which I have undertaken? What! Is it not enough that I should be deprived for the last four years of the revenues of the

Province of Arcot and that because of my kindness and your arrangements, I should not even know to whom to approach for their payment? Must I still carry my obligingness to the point of letting slip the only occasion. I shall perhaps ever have to go and demand my rights in Mysore? Oh! this time, it is demanding too much of me! It seems to me that I should rather, on this occasion, follow my interests as much as I looked after years." The torrent of spirited words, the tone and the gesture (I confess it to you) overwhelmed me, and not having but weak arguments to urge against such just reproaches, I decided to beat a retreat. And for anything in the world, I should have liked to be exempted from playing such an unpleasant role. I would have been too happy if I had got off with this first scene. But no! On the next day, the Nawab renewed to me his complaints in the full Darbar. His whole Court expressed sentiments of indignation with which he appeared animated and considered the Nation as a monster of ingratitude. The clamour became general and dread alone prevented them from uttering very loudly the word "treason". At the same time, I received from the Nawab the letter of which I attach herewith a copy. That is, Gentlemen, how I stand with the Nawab and his Council. I would have been happier on this occasion if I had followed the plan which I had proposed to M. Le Godeheu; it suited the interests of the Nawab and could not harm ours.

I thought it my duty, Gentlemen, to go into this detail, not only to resume the correspondence which M. Le Godeheu orders me to continue with you, but also to justify, in the eyes of Europe and of Asia, in case of an untoward event, that I regulated my whole conduct according to the dictates of obedience.

I have the honour to be, etc.

Translation of a letter from Salabat Jang to Monsieur de Bussy.

I have understood and meditated over what you said and pointed out to me on the question of our expedition to Mysore. Uptil now I relied on the friendship of the French, convinced that they were working for my welfare, and you, I always considered you as my brother. But all that you said to me in favour of the Zamindar of Mysore and the argument you are employing to dissuade me from going to demand from him the tribute he owes me, would lead me

to think that I laboured under a delusion. All the important officers in my army are surprised that you should appear to espouse the interests of this Zamindar rather than mine. I appeal to your justice. For the last five years, as you are aware of it, out of consideration for your Nation, I have not spoken at all of the revenues of the Carnatic. This rich Province has fallen into the hands of my enemies who have deprived me of more than a crore of revenues for five years. The Marathas have taken away half of the Subha of Aurangabad and the largest part of Khandesh and Berar, and I confess that without you they would have perhaps carried off everything. The districts of Srikakulam, Rajahmundri, Elluru and Mustafanagar which are like the apple of the eye of the Subha of Hyderabad were given to you for the subsistence of the French forces so that you should receive, without any difficulty, what is necessary for your maintenance and that in your turn, you should do all you can for my welfare. You know my embarrassment for the subsistence of my army. You have seen the cabals and the revolts which were raised on this account. The only resource remaining for me is in the tributes of my vassals. For five years I worked with you to set order in the Deccan. I could not levy these tributes and the perfidious Zamindars send them only when they are forced to do so. That of Mysore has given nothing for the last six years. When my father and brother appeared in his territory in force, he gave them 30 to 40 lakhs more or less. I always wanted to go there. The opportunity offered itself only this year, and I find that you are opposed to this expedition. That leads me to believe that you do not care for my interests. If I do not receive anything either from the Carnatic or from the Zamindar of Mysore, of what use is the alliance of the French to me?

I have no alternative but to become a Fakir. If you persist in opposing this expedition, I shall hand over to you the "Mamliat" and retire; or else return to me Machchalipatnam, Divy, Devrakota, Condavir and other domains as well as Srikakulam, Rajahmundry, Elluru and Mustafanagar which I conferred on your Nation as a pure gift for the maintenance of your troops, after which I shall work, according to my views, to set order in my country with the help I shall get.

The comparison between you and the English will help to decide my choice. They have helped the pettiest of my subjects, Muhammad Ali Khan, and have raised him to such a high point. You who are the allies of the Legitimate Master, if you allow his affairs to dwindle, what becomes of your honour? You are an intelligent man; reflect on what I have pointed out to you. You did so much for me, you appeared so attached to all my interests that I considered you as my brother.

We, the undersigned, certify that this translation has been made in your presence from the original letter of the Nawab.

In the French Camp, 2nd March, 1755.

Signed: Law, Duplant de Laval,
de Monjustin, Jesuit priest.

From M. de Leyrit to M. de Bussy

C^a 86. f. 175-176

Pondichery, March 27, 1755

Sir,

I inform you Sir, that having come here in the capacity of the Governor-General of all the French establishments in India it is with me hence forward that you should correspond for all the matters which concern you and generally for all the affairs with which you are entrusted in the parts in which you command.

I have no doubt at all Sir, that the continuation of your operations will have the benefit of the same zeal which has animated you so far, and I am convinced that your attachment for the welfare and honour of the nation will lead you to employ the means necessary to succeed in crowning this great work. I express to you beforehand all the satisfaction which I shall have at it.

The gentlemen of the Committee which M. Godeheu had set up here before his departure, have delivered to me your last letters addressed to it, dated the 9th and 30th January, 8th and 20th February. They received them after the departure of M. Godeheu and waited for my arrival to reply to them.

I have read all these letters and I am astonished to see in them, Sir, the continuous intrigues which you are obliged to employ to support yourself. It is unfortunate to be reduced to such expedients. But you have the skill to dispel these storms.

Your last letter of the 20th especially tranquillises me with regard to the embarrassments caused to you by Murarrao and Balajirao. I hope that your project succeeds and I expect to hear shortly from you on this matter. You ought indeed, Sir, to be very careful not to disturb the King of Mysore. On the contrary, continue to behave in a manner (as you see it) to impress upon him that he has fresh obligations to us and that in this circumstance, it is we who have saved him from an irruption in his country on the part of Salabat Jang. On the other hand, you understand all the importance to continue to protect this latter prince and maintain our good relations with him. Therefore, Sir, I strongly recommend to you to use every means which will lead us to our object; to preserve the friendship of the Subhedar of the Deccan and the King of Mysore.

Moreover, you must have seen from the last two letters written to you by M. Godeheu, dated the 22nd January and the 7th February the conduct which you must adopt during the time the truce lasts. The plan appears to me so prudent and so consistent with the spirit of tranquillity which ought to guide us that I can only repeat to you their contents, and for this purpose attach herewith a second copy.

I request you, Sir, to send me as early as possible a statement of the review of all your troops, French as well as foreign. You will join to it the necessary details like the names of all the officers employed and others who are under your orders as well as their grade and the period during which both serve in this part.

I await news from you and I urge you, Sir, to give them to me as often as you can.

Inform Salabat Jang before hand about my arrival and until I write to him, assure him please that I am disposed to continue to him the marks of friendship which my predecessors have shown him heretofore.

I have the honour to be, etc.

April 14, 1755

We, Major of the army of the Deccan, and chief assistant-medical officer and officers of the Company of the Dragoons of this army, certify that Monsieur de Bussy, commandant-general of the army has purchased from his own funds from the month of March 1754 till today as he had orders from M. Dupleix, then General of the Nation, sixty horses for the said Company at the rate of four hundred rupees amounts to the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees ... Rs. 24,000

Plus fifteen horses for the Guards at four hundred fifty rupees each amounting to the sum of six thousand seven hundred fifty rupees. ... Rs. 6,750

Which in all amounts for the purchase of the said seventy-five horses to that of thirty thousand seven hundred fifty rupees which are due to Monsieur de Bussy.

Rs. 30,750

We also attest that the said Monsieur de Bussy has made a present to the said Company of the Dragoons of twenty-five horses which the Nawab Salabat Jang has given to him personally on different occasions.

Drawn up at the French Camp on April 14, 1755.

Signed: Montagnié de la Roque, D'hequerty, De Montespin, De Bourville and Duplan De Laval, Commissary of the army.

True Copy

Signature: illegible.

C² 86, f. 77

In the French Camp, 21st March 1755

Gentlemen

M. de Bussy, who has been suffering very much from eye trouble for the last several days, has charged me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 17th of the last month. As soon as his eyesight permits it, he will surely reply to you. In the meantime, you can rest assured that he will comply with what you have prescribed to him.

I have the honour to be etc.

Signed: Duplant de Laval

C² 86, 176-176 v^o

Pondicherry, April 16, 1755

Sir,

I informed you, by my letter of the 27th March that I would communicate my arrival to Salabat Jang and that I would assure him of my dispositions. I attach herewith the original and the copy of the letter which I am writing to him on this subject and request you to deliver the original to him on my behalf.

I can, Sir, only express to you my surprise not to receive any news from you. Your last letter addressed to M. Gordeheu is dated the 22nd February and since this time I am completely in the dark about the outcome of your projects and of the operations which ought to take place. However, M. Godeheu, at the time of his departure, communicated to you the setting up of a Committee with which, in my absence, you were to correspond, and I do not see that you have even acknowledged to these gentlemen the receipt of the letter which they wrote to you in order to communicate to you the intentions of M. Godeheu at his departure.

I hope, Sir, that being aware now of my arrival in this part, you will keep me informed exactly and as often as you can of everything that takes place in your army as well as of everything which relates to the objects which fix your attention and mine. You are aware that this part of administration is the only serious one which is important for us to follow and I can hardly repeat to you that the details of everything which concerns it are absolutely necessary to me. You alone can give them to me. Therefore, Sir, I expect that you will not neglect anything to convince me of your zeal and of your attachment for the common welfare and interest.

I have sent you a duplicate of my letter of the 27th March.

I have the honour to be, etc.

C² 86, f. 177-177 v^o

Pondicherry, April 29, 1755

Sir,

I do not know why we have been deprived here of news from you for a long time. Your letter to Mr. Godeheu is of the 22nd February and today is the 29th April. I have confirmed to you his intentions, by my letter of the 27th March, the duplicate of which has also been sent to you, on the question of your expedition on Mysore which today has given rise to the reproaches of Nand Raj, one of our allies, as you will see from the translation of the letter which I send you with the reply which I have given to him.

From your letter to Mr. Godeheu you appeared to be inclined to avoid any act of hostility against Myore in order not to do anything contrary to the alliance which exists between us and this prince, and you were going to employ your mediation and handle it in a manner to bring home to him the advantages of this alliance without harming the interests of the Subhedar. I am, however, grieved, from what Nand Raj points out to me, that this means of conciliation could not materialise, which circumstance afflicts me much in my fear that your expedition might tend to disturb the measures which have been taken in these quarters for the re-establishment of tranquillity.

The affairs of the coast are at the present moment in a state of uncertainty which absolutely necessitates that you should communicate to me your operations so that I know how to adjust the connections they might have with them. The English raise so many quibbles to us that I have reason to fear that the truce which exists today cannot be maintained for a long time. I am impatiently awaiting news from you to begin with you a correspondence which will give me a lot of pleasure and at the same time enable me to commend your services to the Minister and the Company.

I did not think that it was necessary to write to Salabat Jang on the subject of Mysore. You are on the spot and you can better than I judge the representations which it is advisable to make to him on this occasion.

I have the honour to be, etc.

I hear from a letter of M. Duplan to the gentlemen of the Committee dated the 21st of the last month that you are suffering from an eye trouble. I hope that your earliest letters will announce to me your perfect cure.

C² 86, f. 77 v^o-79

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang
27th April, 1755

Gentlemen,

By my letter of the 2nd March, in which I referred to those which I had written to M. le Godeheu, you have been informed of the embarrassment in which I found myself to conciliate so many different interests. If it is glorious and advantageous for the Nation that the person who represents it in the Deccan should be the arbitrator of the differences and, so to say, the oracle to whom all appeal, and to whose decisions they defer, it is also a difficult and risky mission. To fulfil it, I need to be helped with advice to make up for my failing by the enlightenment of others.

M. Duplan has replied to the letter which you wrote to me, because an inflammation of the eyes prevented me from fulfilling this duty. To-day that this indisposition has ceased, I shall resume the thread of affairs where I left them in my last letter, to which I have not yet received any reply from you, not either to all those which were addressed to M. le Godeheu.

You have seen, Gentlemen, that the Nawab was busy putting order in his kingdoms to the south of the Krishna, as he had not been able so far to do so, for he had always been occupied with those in the north. Everything was disposed to conclude the affairs of the Raja of Mysore with the Nawab. In accordance with the views of the Commissioner, we were to stop at Sira, capital of the district of this name, adjoining the Mysore territory. According to the arrangements made, the usual tribute was to be brought there without the necessity for the Nawab's army to penetrate further, when the Raja of Mysore invited and solicited the Nawab to proceed and camp under the very walls of his capital. This is the reason. There was at that time on the opposite frontier a body of cavalry troops 25,000 to 30,000 strong, detached by Balajirao which, in order to penetrate into Mysore and ravage it, was only waiting for the decision of the Nawab to penetrate into it himself or to stop at the frontiers. We yielded to the Mysorian's solicitations. The Marathas, as it had been conjectured, retired. Thus, without firing a shot, everything terminated to the satisfaction of the Nawab who received the tribute which the Mysorians owed him. In his turn, this Raja was delighted to have been delivered from the incursions of the Marathas. We set out through the Kingdom of Vijapur to proceed to the monsoon-quarters which are yet uncertain (that is to say to the place where he will fix them).

The news from Delhi and the manoeuvres of Balajirao will decide whether it will be between Barhanpur, Aurangabad or Hyderabad. The last place is more advantageous for us and constitutes practically no invincible obstacles. I shall try to take the Nawab there. I shall be in a better position in this town to provide for the subsistence of my army, as I shall not be far away from the districts from which I draw it.

I have still to answer the complaints and objections of the Nawab. I request you to give the fullest thought to these and furnish me

answers which it is advisable to give. He constantly asks me if the French Nation has a Chief since M. Dupleix and Godeheu have left. I replied to him that pending the arrival of the person from Bengal, three distinguished persons managed the affairs. That has not satisfied him at all. The Asiatics, accustomed to recognize only a Chief, deal only with from man to man. "Whatever it may be with all the movements which agitate your nation", he said to me. "I must address personally to someone for the payment of the revenues of the province of Arcot. In whose possession it is? If the English have the upper hand over you and if this province escapes me, of what use is the alliance of the French to me for this part?" What he went on to say to me is only a repetition of the first conversation he had with me on this subject which I communicated to you in my last letter and on which I am awaiting your reply.

There are yet other negotiations and knotty matters on which I had the honour to consult the Commissioner by my last letters which you have certainly examined. I await your orders on all these points. I solicit you to communicate to me your views. They will serve me as a guidance. I shall make it my business to abide by them.

I have the honour to be, etc.

C² 86, f. 177 v^o-180

Pondicherry, May 25. 1755

Sir,

I received yesterday the letter and the duplicate which you wrote to the Gentlemen of the Committee on the 27th of the last month. It is quite surprising that these harakaras should take so much time to reach here, and I cannot imagine how those who left here on the 27th March had not yet reached you. On the 7th May, the date of some private letters written from your army and which arrived here with your duplicate. We must absolutely remedy these delays, and I request you, Sir, to give very strict orders on your side so that our letters reach each other with greater dispatch.

At the commencement of your letter, you refer, Sir, to one from you dated the 2nd March which never reached us. It would be advisable that you should send me another copy of it, so that I should know what occupied you then so essentially.

Today I see that the Subhedar (of the Deccan) (from what you say) has settled with the King of Mysore so that both are satisfied, the one for receiving the tribute which the Mysorians owe him and the latter for warding off, through this proceeding of Salabat Jang, the irruption of 25,000 to 30,000 Marathas detached by Balajirao who, to ravage Mysore, were only waiting for the decision of Salabat Jang.

I would have liked to receive, Sir, a much more detailed account from you in order to know particularly the reciprocal dispositions of these two princes whom we ought to consider and preserve as powerful allies who, when the occasion arises, would always be favourably inclined to us. I would have liked to be informed of the details of their settlements, and I would like to know to what the tribute ; paid by the King of Mysore to the Subhedar, amounted and on what conditions. These details are absolutely necessary for me, and it is from you alone that I expect to have them, not being at all disposed to rely on the private and public news. While waiting for these explanations, I am going to communicate to you my reflections.

It is fortunate, Sir, that the corps of 30,000 Marathas had designs calculated to favour those of the Subhedar and yours to such a point that by keeping away these troops by your approach, we should have appeared to render service and protect the King of Mysore at the same time as we should have come to demand sums of money on account of the tribute which he owes to Salabat Jang. But you don't say anything about the route taken by the Marathas and whether they had moved sufficiently away to give grounds to believe that they had renounced their project.

I shall also be delighted to know the result of your mediation between Murarrao and Balajirao to satisfy them both, without, however, alienating them from us. I have fully understood your project, but I do not know the result. I request you to inform me about it.

I wish, Sir, that the circumstances should be favourable enough to enable you to come and spend the rainy season at Hyderabad with

the Nawab. This situation will put you in a position to provide for the subsistence of your army and at the same time you would be in a better position to protect our provinces of the north from which you derive it.

Accordingly to all that you report, Sir, the talks and the objects which the Nawab continuously raises before you on our actual position with respect to him, I would be quite willing to bet that someone is whispering these talks to him and I have no doubt that our antagonists continue to have agents with him, either to spy and discover our moves, or to turn to account the smallest incidents, or finally to try to dispose the Nawab to our disadvantage. But on the other hand, I think that you will not cease to keep a watch and parry all the blows which could be struck at us. You know, Sir, what M. Godeheu has prescribed to you, before his departure, on the conduct which you have to adopt with the Nawab. I cannot absolutely add anything to it. We must drag on, continue to assure the Nawab of our sincere friendship and promise him that we shall never abandon him. Moreover, there should not be any attempt or of any step which would attract the attention of the English. They are, of course, observing us just as we are observing them, and we must take good care not to be the first to infringe in any manner any of the articles of the treaty drawn between them and us. Therefore, Sir, I repeat to you, you must be patient and use all your resources to keep the Nawab in the disposition in which he actually is with respect to us. I cannot offer you any other plan of conduct until I myself receive orders from the Minister and the Company from whom I await them and which will probably arrive only next year.

When the Nawab asks you to whom he must address for the payment of the revenues of the province of Arcot. I think that you should not be embarrassed to reply to him on this point. However, if he had the real intention to make serious demands for the recovery of these revenues, could you not consent and even induce him to address himself to Muhammad Ali without, however, recognising him as the Nawab of the province, but only to see what reply the English would give him. If the question embarrasses them for the moment, I do think that evasions will not fail them, but the attempt should not expose us and

compromise us at all. The English, it is reported, are paying a mediocre pension to Muhammad Ali, Maphus Khan and Abdulwal Khan and themselves (the English) collect the revenues of the province.

Murarrao is making a demand to me for twelve lakhs of rupees which, he claims, are due to him for the salary of his troops. M. Dupleix, to whom he first addressed himself, referred him to Nand Raj from whom a much bigger sum is demanded. It would have been desirable that you could have profited by the circumstances of your stay in Mysore with the army of Salabat Jang to obtain from the King some partial payment of his dues to the Company. Murarrao will not cease to worry us whenever he finds an occasion for it until he is, satisfied in some way or the other.

I am impatiently awaiting the statements which I have asked of you by my letter of the 27th March.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 86, f. 80 v^o-82 v^o

From the army of Salabat Jang, in the French Camp
2nd May, 1753

Gentlemen,

Since my letter of the 27th of the last month, of which you have herewith the duplicate, the chief who commands the corps of the Maratha troops, of which I have spoken to you, has dispatched to the Nawab and to me an officer of his army to get a final reply on the right of the Chauthai of the Province of Arcot which was granted to him in the peace treaty of October 1752. (This right had always been levied till then by Fateh Singh). Since then, I have always prevented Balajirao from sending his forces into the Carnatic as he contemplated it. At the change in our Government, he had resolved to dispatch a large body of troops there. You must have seen in my correspondence with M. le Godeheu that, at the moment of taking the field, I could instigate against Balajirao, who was marching in person, troubles which obliged him to change his plan and himself

proceed towards Satara. But Mhadoba, who commands the army of which I have recently spoken to you, had orders not only to proceed to Mysore and devastate it, but also to penetrate into the Province of Arcot with one Moropant to whom Balajirao had leased this right of the Chauthai and from whom he had last year received about two lakhs in advance. You could see the details of this affair in my correspondence with M. Dupleix. I come to the subject which prompted Balajirao to dispatch to us the person of whom I have spoken to you above. He has orders from his master to demand from the Nawab or from me the total amount of the Chauthai of the Province of Arcot, adding that out of respect for M. Dupleix and for me and in accordance with the said treaty made with Salabat Jang, his master had always deferred sending troops into this province.

Gentlemen, one must have, like me, the thread of affairs, with which I am entrusted for a long time, to feel how insidious is the proposal of this agent. He wanted to extract from the Nawab a confession of his inability to collect the revenues from this province, as he did not know to whom to apply to the French, to Muhammad Ali Khan or to the English, or else this Nawab should tell him to which of the three his master should apply for the Chauthai. But as this agent is sufficiently informed by his master, that the Province of Arcot is so divided that each one pays to the Maratha the Chauthai for the portion he possesses. At the refusal of a definite reply from the Nawab, he has orders, to intimate to him that the army commanded by Mhadoba, was going to enter the Carnatic. Thereupon, the Nawab's Council wanted to pass a resolution to wreck the plan Balajirao had for a long time to seize the Province of Arcot (as I had pointed out to M. Dupleix and later to M. le Godeheu). It was to detach a body of troops to proceed to Arcot and ask for the revenue from him to whom it belongs, but this expedition, if it had taken place, would certainly disturb the tranquillity which ought to reign in this Province under the terms of the Conditional Treaty concluded by M. Godeheu between the French and the English and their respective allies. You are aware, Gentlemen, of the protests which Salabat Jang continues to make to me on the subject of this treaty which, according to him, makes him an equal of Muhammad Ali Khan. However, he is the Legitimate Master of this Province,

and whatever you may say, he has the right to instal in it as Governor Nawab or Fouzdar any person he likes independently of this treaty on which he has not been consulted. On the other hand, if Balajirao executes his plan, there will be none the less ravages and other calamities of war. There will even be this additional disadvantage in that we shall have both the Nawab and the Marathas as enemies. We will even, in addition, run the risk of seeing our enemies meet the Maratha and come to terms with him to injure us. This, Gentlemen, is the situation which I place before you, and this is also a little sample of the negotiations and affairs with which I have dealt for nearly five years. As you have prescribed to me by your letter of the 17th February to give intimation to you about all things and await your orders (and to what Messrs. Dupleix and Godeheu had not restricted me for motives which are amply detailed in my correspondence), I shall await these orders in spite of the disadvantages which delays produce in affairs, and I shall make it a point to comply with them. Besides, all these operations are only contemplated, and every power is actually proceeding to the monsoon quarters. Moreover, if the news from Delhi is confirmed, it will cause a change in all these plans; the Emperor has left his capital and will return to it only after setting order in all his States. I shall inform you exactly about the events. For the present, everything is quiet in the Deccan as well as in our concessions in the North.

I remain, etc.,

Signed: De Bussy

C²-86, f. 79-80 v°

In the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang
12th May, 1755

Sir,

I have just now received the letter which you wrote to me on 26th April¹. It is the first and the only one which has reached me; that of

1. 16th April.

the 25th March¹ and its duplicate are still on the way or lost. I did not fail, Sir, to correspond with the Committee, set up by M. le Godeheu. An inflammation of the eyes prevented me from doing so more frequently. I charged M. Duplant with replying to the letter which I received from the Committee and as soon as I could freely use my eyes, I myself gave it an account of the actual state of my affairs. I attach herewith a third copy of my last two letters. I delivered, Sir, your letter to Salabat Jang and I shall send you his reply. I shall have to offer you some observation on the letter which you have written to him, but as I have not the honour to be sufficiently well known to you to feel assured that you might not misunderstand the representations which I shall make to you on the subject, I shall await until you have acquainted yourself with the services which I have rendered and the confidence which it is necessary that you should have in me for the conduct of the affairs of this part. All that I can say to you is that Persian is not at all suitable to French translation and that there are expressions which, while degrading me, will lead to the loss of my credit. Please see my letter to M. le Godeheu of the 18th August 1754 on this subject. You certainly have before you my correspondence for nearly five years. That which I had with M. le Godeheu will very well acquaint you with the affairs of the Deccan. If you deem it fit to cast a glance over it, you should not doubt, Sir, that I shall give you an exact and a very detailed account of all that relates to the mission which is entrusted to me, and I shall do so as much out of attachment as out of duty, although M. Barthelemy, by his letter of 21st March, writes to me:

“The Committee has gone through all the letters which you addressed to M. Godeheu and if, so far, it has not replied to all the points in these same letters, it is because they appeared to it too delicate to take a fixed decision. Monsieur de Leyrit who, no doubt will be better authorised than we are, will give his decisions unambiguously on all the heads in question.”

After this statement, what could I do? This did not, however, prevent me from continuing to give him an account as much as my health permitted it. The complexion of affairs has not changed since the last letters of which you will see attached herewith the triplicate.

¹ 27th March.

Allow me, Sir, to point out to you that I did not expect that the first letter I would receive from you, would be a sort of a reprimand. It affects me all the more as I can testify not to have deserved it. My zeal, my attachment for the common interest has never been in doubt. What I have done so far is convincing proof of it. However, you appear to doubt it and you prescribe to me to convince you of it. The motives of the glory of the French name and the advantages of the Company, which have directed my operations since the beginning of this expedition, are the same to-day. They have never changed; in my opinion, they are sufficient to convince whomsoever is not prejudiced. Moreover, Sir, besides the general welfare, I have a powerful motive to fulfil all what you prescribe to me; that of specially deserving your esteem and that one day you should render justice to my successes which are those of the Nation.

I have the honour to remain etc.,

C2-86, f. 83-88

In the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang
15th May, 1755.

Sir,

I received today your letter of the 29th April¹. My indisposition is the sole cause which prevented me from giving you news about me more frequently. Besides, Sir, I was impatiently awaiting your arrival, and I can assure you that your letter of the 29th March² as well as its duplicate have not yet reached me. I am equally surprised that the Members of the Committee have not received the letter which I wrote to them on the 2nd March, of which I attach herewith a copy so that you should see the strong reasons which induced me to follow the Nawab in his expedition to Mysore. Besides, all that was said in the Council of this Nawab, he wrote to me a letter of which I also send you a copy. You will see from all these documents that I could not hesitate. I had to choose either between ruining the French for ever in India or following the Nawab (as it is stated in the treaty

1. 16th April.

2. 27th March.

of donation of the Four Circars assigned for the maintenance of the army) in all his expeditions without exception. Moreover, M. le Godeheu had recommended to me (as you could have seen it) to tighten the bonds of the alliance between Salabat Jang and the French. I request you, Sir, to judge of my embarrassment. However, inspite of what the Nawab had represented and written to me, I had succeeded (as I had pointed out to the Members of the Committee in my letter of the 27th April) so well as to conclude this affair according to the views of the Commissioner. We were not to cross Sira which belongs to the Nawab ;; the usual tribute was to be brought there and the army would not have had to penetrate further. But the Raja of Mysore ardently solicited the Nawab to proceed and camp under its very walls, and this is the reason for it. (I repeat here the contents of my letter of the 27th). There was at this time on the opposite frontier a body of cavalry troops 25,000 to 30,000 strong, detached by Balajirao, which was only awaiting, to penetrate into Mysore and commit ravages in it, the decision of the Nawab to penetrate into it himself or stop at the frontiers. We responded to the solicitations of the Mysorian. The Marathas (as it had been contemplated) retired. Thus, without firing a shot, everything terminated to the satisfaction of the Nawab who received the tribute which the Mysorian owed him. In his turn, the Raja was delighted to have been delivered of the incursion of the Marathas. This is the truth, and I can assure you, Sir, that I could not act otherwise. I avoided as much as I could any act of hostility; there occurred none with the exception of the small fortress of Kunigal of which I shall give you the detail which you will find quite different from the one supplied to you by Nandi Raja who deceives you in all respects. I shall come back to his letter shortly.

Firstly, Sir, it is customary that when the Subhedar of the Deccan starts to receive the tributes owed to him by all the Zamindars (it is thus that he calls those whom we call Raja), he sees that no pillage is committed and the army marches straight to the capital, the Governors of the citadels or fortresses by which it passes, far from firing on the troops of the Subhedar, proceed, on the contrary, to a very long distance to meet him. The one in question (I mean the fortress) had still greater reason not to offend the Subhedar of the Deccan, since the Zamindar or the Raja of Mysore had himself

invited him to save himself from the Maratha incursion. Moreover, this little fort had been offered protection. But the insult which he gave to the Nawab, by firing on his equiage and refusing him provisions, impelled him to give orders to attack it. The Diwan of the Nawab himself proceeded there and called on me to help him to capture this fortress. I sent him detachment of sipahees and about hundreds Europeans who reduced it by an escalade in less than an hour, after firing a dozen gunshots. You will see, Sir, that this fortress was neither much cannonaded nor taken unawares, as Nandi Raja would have you believe, since, on the contrary, it itself commenced acts of hostilities. After this action, the Nawab, enraged, wanted to send his troops in the whole of Mysore and ravage it. Not only did I prevent it but even restored this fortress to the men of the Raja of Mysore on the very next day. Dev Raja, brother of Nandi Raja, who is called Commandant Dalvay from the name of his office, which reverts to that of the First Minister, apologized to the Nawab and thanked me for returning this fortress to him. This is, Sir, the most exact account of the event. I have occupied myself only in seeking means to restore peace in the whole of India, far from creating trouble in it. It is a justice which one cannot help doing me when one follows my operations. I shall now speak to you about the motives of Nandi Raja's return. These are certainly not these which he has stated to you i.e. about the ravages made in his territory, since Salabat Jang's army, on the contrary, prevented those which the Maratha army wanted to commit there. But the Asiatics can never tell the truth. "These disgraceful acts (says Nandi Raja) induced my King to recall me." It is worth telling you, Sir, that by the constitution of this State, the Raja cannot take a hand in any affair; it is the Dalvay who does everything. Now, this Dalvey, after his settlement with the Nawab, proposed to me to capture, on my return, the fortress of Balapur which belonged to a Zamindar whose territory adjoins Mysore and against who the uncle of the Dalvay lost his life several years back. These are the conditions he offered to Salabat Jang: payment of six lakhs to him after the capture of the fortress; promise to me to pay a part of the balance he owes to the French, pursuant to the accord made with M. Dupleix; delivery of this fortress to Nandi Raja, his brother, whom he had recalled for this purpose. The other motive for his return is a sum of twenty lakhs which he owed to his troops as 'Shibandi'.

He had received the order from his brother to collect this sum from southern Mysore, so that nothing should stop him from joining our army immediately on his return to Srirangapatan for the expedition of Balapur. This is, Sir, the story of what happened and the reason for the departure of Nandi Raja (to this can be added the delivery of the Raja's wife who is Nandi Raja's daughter). The expedition to Balapur cannot take place because of the monsoons and the flooding of the rivers.

Your reply, Sir, to Nandi Raja is most judicious and I communicated it to the Nawab who was extremely pleased with it. You did well in not writing to the Nawab on this subject. I shall give you the detail of the beneficence the Nawab has shown to the Raja of Mysore through my mediation. You can judge if he has not every reason to be content and if I have disturbed (as Nandi Raja says) the friendship which existed between us.

The Nawab insisted on availing himself of this opportunity to recover from the Raja of Mysore all the territory and fortresses which he had seized in the province of Sira since the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk and during the troubles, which constitutes a very large portion. Besides, the Nawab wanted to force this Raja to come and pay homage to him in person as Subhedar of the Deccan. At my urgent solicitations, Salabat Jang waived these two demands; and the *status quo* was maintained. During our stay near Srirangapatan, a son was born to the Raja whom he placed under my protection and on whom I had the fortress of Dassota and its dependencies conferred by the Nawab as a *jahgir* which forms and object (*jahgir*) of more than two lacks of revenues from the province of Sira (it is Hyder Jang, son of the ex-Governor of Machchalipatnam, who is attached to the nation and particularly to me, whom I delegated to perform the ceremony. The child was placed on his knees and he passed, on my behalf, a necklace, worth six to seven thousand Rupees, round his neck). This is, Sir, all what I have done for the Raja, which fact is known to the whole Deccan and for which he has expressed to me all sorts of satisfaction. In his turn, the Nawab was equally satisfied when he saw that his finances were a little restored by the sums which the Raja of Mysore paid him. It will be easy for you to judge, Sir, from

the details which I have just furnished you, of my embarrassment and if I have been able to look after the interests of our two allies.

I hear on very good authority that the English do not sufficiently observe the truce which has been concluded ; that proves that this nation is not so inclined towards peace as one would have us at first believe it.

I must confess, Sir, that the last part of your letter gives me the strength necessary to support the weight under which I often nearly succumbed. I shall not conceal from you that what has supported me in the painful career, which I have been pursuing for such a long time, is the boundless confidence which M. Duplex and later M. le Godeheu had in me. I do not wish to abuse yours, Sir, I wish to deserve it as well as your esteem. That will be for me the most flattering reward for my services. I am not worried, since you give me hopes that you will lay them before the Minister and the Company so that I could deserve their kindness.

You need not doubt my readiness to correspond with you. I shall do it rather out of attachment than out of duty. You can rest assured that I shall comply with your views and your orders, which you may be pleased to give me, with the greatest exactitude. I intend to dispatch to you M. Duplant who will carry some documents which it is necessary you should have. You will see, Sir, that after sacrificing my youth and my time, I have also sacrificed my fortune for the common weal, a thing quite rare in the present century. But I hope you will help me to retrieve it when I receive from you this mark of kindness as much as of justice. I shall be as much indebted to you for my fortune as to the Nawab from whom I have held it. You do not know how many enemies and how much jealousy this fortune, which has been very much exaggerated and which others were not obliged to know that I had sacrificed for the common weal, I repeat, how many enemies it has created for me and how much jealousy it has excited against me.

We are still on this side of the rivers and almost equidistant from Pondicherry and Hyderabad. From Sira I shall dispatch M. Duplant who, as an eyewitness, will give you a true evidence of the real

state of affairs in this part, of which the majority of Frenchmen have only an imperfect knowledge and poor notions. He will bring you the list of requirements of this army, in men, munitions, arms, etc. His candid and upright character will give great weight to the report which he will give you. When one speaks with full knowledge of the case and when one is not prejudiced, one has a sort of right to be listened to. I request you, Sir, not to decide to send either any officer or any troops to this army until you have met M. Duplant or until I have written to you on this subject, because there is a limitation of supply. I shall send you along with him the statements of our Northern Districts (I mean those which we hold as security). Please, let me know, Sir, if you have my correspondence with M. Le Godeheu.

I have not forgotten, and this souvenir is very very dear to me, that I have had the honour to know you. I hope you will kindly recall it. The testimony, which you assure me you are ready to bear to my services, touches me. The favours I shall receive from you will be all the more flattering for me as they will bind me to a gratitude for you, which I shall always consider as a duty as much as a merit.

The reply which the Nawab gives to your letter, will leave with the duplicate of the present one. You will hear from M. Duplant about, and you will be happy, I think, to see, the order I have put in and the arrangements I have made for our Districts (which we hold as security) from which we obtain the subsistence for our troops. Immediately on my arrival in Hyderabad, if I cannot proceed to Rajmahendry like last year, I, shall dispatch to M. de la Selle, if necessary, a reinforcement to hasten the collection of our funds which some times is so delayed that I have to use my credit to provide for the maintenance of the army.

I have the honour to remain, etc.,

P. S. :

M. Duplant will return to Machchalipatnam according to my orders towards the month of August unless you direct otherwise. He can still join me before taking the field.

C²-86, f. 93 v^o-98 v^o.

In the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
20th May, 1755.

Sir,

I have at last received the duplicate of your letter of the 27th March. The original letter with the documents, which you inform me you have attached to it, have not yet reached me.

I very much appreciate the obliging testimony you kindly bear to my previous operations. Your good wishes to see this great work crowned by my efforts has something very flattering for me. It will be a fresh motive to continue to apply myself to the affairs with fresh vigour of which the success has deserved your esteem.

The intrigues, which un-interruptedly follow each other, are so to say the integral part of the Asiatics. Those which occupied me latterly are not trifles as compared to this labyrinth of the cabals and secret schemings which I had to unravel and frustrate to establish and maintain Salabat Jang in the place he occupies. My correspondence is a tangible record of it. Moreover, those intrigues are not surprising, as they aim at destroying my work (When foiled) they served to establish my authority and credit.

M. Duplant is bearer of this letter and various statements and other documents which you desire. I cannot send you their duplicates, because I absolutely lack paper, etc. I solicit you, Sir, to remember that the expenses of this army are proportionately tied up with the revenues of the Four districts given for the subsistence, to which the statements attest. I think I ought to limit myself to 600 or 700 Europeans and in a more pressing need to 800 or 900 men. The officers, whose salaries are very high and absorb large sums every month, should be in numbers proportional to that of the soliders whom I intend to retain here. That is why I solicit you not to send any without informing me, so that I can arrange everything and prepare the means to employ here those to whom you grant this favour. As for the troops whose lists of muster-inspection will acquaint you with the

situation, it is necessary to fill in the gaps which sickness and desertion have made in them. There are at Machchalipatnam 50 hussars and a company of Germans who were meant for me and who could not join, because I was too much engrossed in the Deccan. I shall have them brought to Hyderabad and shall immediately send back the sick and others who are unfit to support the fatigues of a campaign. I request you to give orders at Machchalipatnam accordingly. It would be advisable, Sir, to send, if you can 300 to 400 men as much to fill in the gaps in the number of 600 to 700 which I have in view as to complete the number of 800 to 900 in case circumstances demand it. Also kindly send to Machchalipatnam 2,000 muskets with the order to forward them to me in the manner and at the time when I shall demand them. This succour is absolutely necessary for me; those with which our sipahees are armed, being almost all out of use. Please join to it 6,000 cartidges for two-pounders, gun-powder in barrels, 4,00,000 rounds all ready, 50 bomb-shells of $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 50 of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, dresses, hats and caps for the troops. This is, Sir, what must be dispatched to Machchalipatnam for this army, for, you must know that the small quantity of munitions which remains at my disposal and which was transported five years ago are absolutely reduced to dust. I forgot the item of gun-flints, of which we require 12,000 and medicines which we totally lack since a very long time. Until all these goods arrive at Machchalipatnam, I request you to give orders there to fulfil my demands and the shortage will be replaced by the supplies sent for me from Pondicherry.

The negro troops, whom I have placed on the footing of native troops with much difficulty, that is to say, who will receive during the campaign only half their salary and the rest to be paid in rescriptions on the farmers of our Districts given to us as a security, deliver me from the embarrassment of finding every month such big sums, which is not easy. The white troops, though far and away more useful, have to be paid every month and are, for that reason, even a greater burden. Of these I take in just a sufficient number to maintain the reputation of the French arms in the Deccan, which is still untarnished. However exact the farmers may be in making the payment, they can do so only after the harvest and even after the sale of

the grains, which some times throws me in terrible embarrassments because of lack of funds, which deficiency, fortunately is made good by my reputation and my credit. You could have seen, Sir, from my correspondence with M. le Godeheu that he had deemed it necessary to assign the revenues of Condavir especially to the discharge of the debts of the Deccan. I give here the extract of his letter of 16th September 1754.

"I am writing to the Council of Machchalipatnam to furnish you all your requirements for your operations. As for the expenses which you must incur to take the field, I see no other alternative to meet them but to use the revenues of our concessions, old as well as new, and especially Condavir. Please manage in such a manner that these can suffice".

He wrote to the same effect to Monsieur de Moracin on the 16th of the same month in these words : "Unaware of the sums M. de Bussy needs to pay his debts and take the field with sufficient funds, I have decided to grant him the revenues of our Concessions, and even those of Condavir, for a year or two, if that is absolutely necessary."

Through my diligence, I was lucky enough, to reduce our expenses so as not to need funds from the old concessions of the Company, not even those from Condavir to take the field. I procured them from those of our Districts given to us as a security and from advances by me. Therefore, there remained only the debts contracted with several bankers and noblemen of the Deccan who are attached to the Nation and to me in particular. Our debt to the former, according to the statement of accounts sent at that time to M. Le Godeheu, amount to Rs. 3,00,000. We owed to the latter Rs. 4,33,245 as 2½. At Elluru, I had a talk with M. de Moracin who had received orders to employ the said revenues according to the instructions of the Commissioner. On the representation he made to me about the position of the Treasury of Machchalipatnam, to which I had already advanced from my own funds, when I was at Machchalipatnam, a sum of 32,000 Golden Pagodas, (I shall speak to you about this item in due course). I took from Condavir only Rs. 6,00,000, namely Rs. 3,00,000 for the Bankers for which M. de Moracin issued to them the "Tankars"

or rescriptions. Thus, we began by paying off the debts which carried interest. We also issued rescriptions for Rs. 3,00,000/- on account of our debts to the latter (I mean the Mughal noblemen). Thus, these debts which together amounted to Rs. 7,33,245 as. $2\frac{1}{2}$, now only total Rs. 1,33,245 as $2\frac{1}{2}$ when these rescriptions are discharged. I then assured the Commissioner to pay off the debts of the Deccan in a year and a half with the revenues of Condavir, provided nothing was diverted. You will see, Sir, from the above account that so much time will not be required. I hope to be lucky enough not to contract new debts, and that the revenues of the Districts given to us as security will suffice for the maintenance of this army. It will only be a question of the advances I have made and of which I shall speak to you later on.

I had informed the Commissioner that a promise had been made to M. Le Marquis de Conflans to retain his salary of Rs. 1,500/-, per month which at the end of two years will total Rs. 36,000/-; that M. L'abbe de Montmelen who gets Rs. 1,000, per month (approved by your predecessors) adapted himself to the difficulty of the times and has received only very small instalments which I have drawn also on my funds. On these points, M. Le Godeheu only replied to me definitely in favour of M. de Montmelen, telling me to pay him his salary. However, it appears to me very just that M. le Marquis de Conflans should not be deprived of his salary which is so legitimately due to him, since hardly had he arrived at Pondicherry when M. Dupleix sent him to this army. He joined me at Aurangabad and a few days after his arrival, he left for Pondicherry and thence for Europe. In all his journeys, he showed an extraordinary zeal for the common weal, and after undergoing very great fatigues to join the army of the Deccan, he left it to return to France, inspite of his great aversion for the sea. All that deserves, I think, some attention on the part of the Company.

I therefore request you, Sir, to communicate to me your views on these two points. The one, which concerns me and of which the statement or account will be delivered to you by M. Duplant, I submit it to the bar of your Equity. Please favour it with your attention. I feel sure that you will not let me lose the fruit of my

labours, which I have employed for the needs of the Nation. Thus, either to discharge the debts of the Deccan, or to find the sums due to M. de Conflans and to Montmelan, or to repay me my advances, it is only necessary to continue the system of the Commissioner in connection with the revenues of Condavir. According to the arrangements made by M. de Moracin on this subject for this year, half of the next year will suffice to clear everything, as I had promised it to M. Le Godeheu. If you approve of this arrangement, kindly give your orders at Machcalipatnam so that they are executed.

I frankly place my views before you and solicit you with the same sincerity to correct them. I shall pay, Sir, the same attention as before to inform you and give you an account of all that concerns my mission with the same exactitude which deserved the praise of your predecessors. The confidence with which they honoured me, besides flattering me, has contributed much to the uninterrupted success of my expedition. My desire is to deserve yours. To succeed in it I shall place before you the authentic documents of my administration, if my correspondence with the Commissioner appears to you insufficient and if there are still any points on which you desire some enlightenment. Please let me know and you will be satisfied without any delay.

I have the honour to remain, etc.,

P. S. :

Since the latest news I gave you about Delhi, I have not heard anything positive on this subject. There is great unrest among the Marathas and that concerns Balajirao, as I learn the details, I shall keep you posted with them. We are proceeding by forced marches to Hyderabad where I think the Nawab will fix his monsoon-quarters. I shall be very much obliged to you, Sir, if among the persons whom you could send to this army, you select Messrs. Dupassage and le Maintier; these are two young men in whom I am interested.

I could not refuse to M. Law the permission, which he earnestly asked me, to return to Pondicherry. His health which is daily worsening obliges him to quit the army. I have regretfully granted it to him, but I found him unfit to support the uncommon fatigues of this region.

C²-86, f. 98 v^o-100 v^o.

From the French Camp in the army of
Salabat Jang, 21st May 1755

Sir,

The Nawab delivered to me the reply to your letter today. I shall forward it to you without any delay along with the duplicate of the letter of which M. Duplant is better. When you write to the Nawab, allow me to point out to you that it is not necessary to put the letter in a bag. You should send it in the same way as the Nawab sends it to you i.e. sealed with the small seal, according to the usage of your predecessors. It is apparently a trifle which should not be neglected.

M. Duplex and later M. Le Godeheu had sent me their big and small seals so as to enable me to write in their name to the Nawab, as well as the different Mughal chiefs, Marathas, Rajas and others as also to the Court of Delhi to which I have not failed to communicate your arrival and with which I am also in close correspondence, according to the circumstances which vary much in a short space of time. This confidence with which they honoured me contributed much to the success of the affairs. But indeed, besides placing confidence more freely, each one places it according to his liking. My intention is not to draw a parallel which may interfere with it. I have no other object than to seek the common weal and the means to procure it. Therefore, Sir, if you will do me the favour to show sufficient confidence in me, I shall send you the copies of the letters which I shall write in your name, along with their replies. There is often a style peculiar to the affair in question and which he who has its thread twines to better account than a person who is far off. All my operations for the present have no other aim than the monsoon-quarters.

Meanwhile I imagine that you have my correspondence before you. You will see, therefore, Sir, how different are the affairs which have been occupying me for the last five years from those of Arcot.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

Copy of the letter from Salabat Jang to M. de Leyrit.

After the usual compliments.

I had the pleasure to write to you two letters previously. I hope you have received them. All the achievements of M. de Bussy, since nearly five years that he is with me, cannot be compared with his exploit during this campaign, which was a most glorious one for the French name as well as for the support and the maintenance of my Government. I cannot express to you the praises he deserves for all the pains and the troubles he has taken to succeed in his object. It is to him that I owe the obligation for the sums which have entered my "Khajina" or treasury by his agreement. As the rainy season is approaching, we started off as fast as we could to reach the Krishna on the banks of which we arrived on the 2nd of the Saban month, and finding it extremely swollen, I dared not ask my army to cross it. But M. de Bussy, whose courage and intrepidity surpasses all description, induced me to cross it. I did so as I could not be separated from him. Both of us, therefore, passed on the 3rd of the same month on an elephant and all the rest of the army followed us. It is to his courage that I owe my possessions; it is to the French whom he commands that I am obliged for all my happiness. And I communicate all this to you so that as the Commandant General of the whole Nation in India, you should be informed of the services which this very nation renders to me and that the pleasure which you will enjoy from it should turn to the shame of your enemies.

Since five years that M. de Bussy has been with me, he has continually asked me the permission to retire, which I absolutely do not want to grant him. But as this campaign was extremely strenuous, he is sure to repeat it. But I earnestly solicit you, if he writes to you on this subject, to persuade him and even order him not to leave me even for an hour. If in spite of all that he wanted to quite me, I swear to you that at that very moment I shall deliver the Government of the Deccan to whomsoever will take it and shall retire to an unknown place. I consider him as my brother and with whom I want to share the honours of the Subhedari which I possess. Last year, he had left me to go and set order in the affairs of Rajahmundry. His absence cost me many pains and grief, and I even

thought I would go mad. That is why I recalled him to my court as early as possible. I swear to you once again I shall never grant him the permission to leave me, and if you have some affection for me, as I think I deserved it by my attachment for your Nation, you will never grant him this favour. I shall be infinitely obliged to you for it.

C²-86, f. 120-120 v^o.

*Translation of a letter from the Nawab
to Monsieur de Bussy. Received on 23rd May, 1955*

After the usual compliments.

Although my claims on the Raja of Mysore were very high, I was content with 50 lakhs in the hope that the whole sum would be paid in cash and I left because time was pressing, taking with me, according to the usage, the Waquils of Srirangapatan to terminate everything on the way. The proposal of the Dalvay to pay his dues partly in Promissory Notes, partly in Bills of Exchange on the Sahukars without any security was very disadvantageous to me. You know the duplicity and the cheating of the Zamindars, and that their promises, for which they even give acknowledgements in writing, are worthless unless they give a security. I fondly hoped that because of the dread created in him by your forces, I would obtain from him large sums in cash. But according to the agreement of the Darbar, all was fixed, out of regard for you, at 50 lakhs of which 35 for the Treasury, 12 for the Court expenses, 3 in the name of my brothers, the whole to be paid in this manner : 8 lakhs, by private deed, in promissory notes from the Dalvay ; 12 lakhs in cash, 11 lakhs in jewels and 19 lakhs in bills of exchange accepted by the Sahukars but at periods shorter than those asked for it first. I find that the whole matter is terminated in this fashion and I give my approval. I am delighted that you should have thus managed my affairs. They were conducted with much rectitude and you have deposited the whole in the treasury, which operation none other than you would have performed with such fidelity. You are generalissimo of my cavalry and as such you aware of the arrears

due to my troops which amount to 70 lakhs and which can be paid only from the amounts I have received. I am, therefore, embarrassed at my inability to make some return for your services. But let God protect both of us and I hope the occasion will present itself when I can execute what I cannot do just now. As long as I live, I shall not forget the services you have rendered me.

We, the undersigned, certify that this translation corresponds to the original which we have seen and heard interpreted. Executed in the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang, 25th May 1755. Signed : Montagnies de la Roque, Major, and de Monjustin, Jesuit Priest.

C²-86, f 100 v°.

From the French Camp in the army of
Salabat Jung, 23rd May, 1755

Sir,

I add a few lines to the duplicate of the Nawab's letter to request you not to be surprised if you do not receive my letters until my arrival at Hyderabad. We are proceeding by forced marches for fear of being prevented from doing so by the flooding of the Krishna. These daily marches are so fatiguing in such a hot season that I feel that I may succumb to them.

As soon as I arrive in Hyderabad, I shall inform you of the arrangements taken for the monsoon-quarters. I shall advise you of the whole plot that is being hatched between the Mughals and the Marathas, as I discover it, as well as of the intrigues which I shall oppose to upset theirs. I request you to rest assured that I shall be careful to communicate to you all the interesting happenings. My correspondence will subsequently convince you of it.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 86, f. 180-185.

Pondicherry, June 13, 1755

I am going to reply, Sir, to your letters of the 12th, 15th, 20th, 21st and 23rd of the last month which I received with all the papers attached with them. I am glad that the inflammation which you had on the eyes for some time, did not have any consequence and that you have now quite recovered.

You must have seen from the French translation of my letter to Salabat Jang that my intention was not to put anything in it which could cause you any pain. I am very sorry that it has been badly rendered in Persian and that there should have even slipped into it some expressions which may cause you to lose your credit which on the contrary, I ought to try to augment as much as it can depend upon me to do so. I shall subsequently take measures not to fall again into the same slip.

I have taken note of your letters to Messrs. Dupleix and Godeheu. Their perusal was necessary to me to acquaint myself with the affairs of the Deccan on which I expect still more certain enlightenment from the continuation of my correspondence with you.

Please attribute the reproach which I appeared to make to you in one of my letters to the impatience in which I was to receive news from you. I have always rendered you justice, and I am more than ever inclined to do so, since I have studied more particularly the affairs with which you are entrusted.

I have realised from the detail which you give me that you could not help following the Nawab in his expedition of Mysore, of which I learnt the happy result with great pleasure. You have fully conciliated the circumspection which the Company ought to have for the King of Mysore with the interests of the Nawab. Moreover, it was proper that you punished the insolence of the chief of the small fort who had the audacity to fire on the army of the Nawab. It is an obligation which the King of Mysore owes to you for obtaining the restoration of this small place to him and for protecting his territory from the

pillage to which it would have been exposed if you had not brought round the Nawab to more moderate sentiments.

It would have been desirable that you could have acquiesced in the proposal which the King of Mysore made to you to capture on your return the fortress of Balapur which you would have returned to him in return for his promise to pay a part of what he owes to the French in accordance with the agreement made with M. Dupleix. This sum could have served to satisfy what we owe to Murrarao, about which I have spoken to you in my last letter. M. Dupleix agreed that it was due to him, but he claimed that he (Murrarao) demanded much more than what is due to him. This Maratha chief continues to have his Waquil here. He appears to give me some threats by his letter to me on my arrival here. It deserves only little attention especially so long as he is alone, but subsequently he may find occasions when he would be in a position to do us a lot of harm. Nand Raj left the island of Srirangham without my consent and even before I was informed of it. It appeared that he was recalled to run to the succour of the King of Mysore against Salabat Jang, but according to what you point out to me, it was, on the contrary, to join him. There is lot of falsehood in the behaviour of this man whose departure I would have opposed, if I had been informed of it in time as I ought to have been. So as for the Raja of Mysore, I shall avail myself, if I subsequently have an occasion for it, of the services which I find you have rendered him in his relations with Salabat Jang. I was delighted to read the detail you give me about the child whom the Raja placed under your protection and that he as well as the Nawab are satisfied, although the latter, from what I hear, from M. Duplan, did not obtain from his expedition nearly as much money as the report had made it public.

I rightly owe you the same confidence as Messrs. Dupleix and Godeheu, my predecessors, had in you. It is something in which I shall be very happy to imitate them, and to which I shall be disposed from inclination. But, it is at the same time necessary that you should also have it in me, and by means of this mutual understanding. I have reasons to hope that we can adequately discharge our affairs

which the latest arrangements have put in a state of uncertainty which embarrasses me.

M. Duplan, as well as M. Law arrived here on the 4th instant. The former delivered to me the latest statement of the review of your army. I needed this document to study its situation of which I have been still better informed from what he told me orally. I was very delighted to see that they perfectly fit in with the account he has given me of your continuous attentions to support the nation in the state of honour and elevation in which you have placed it and of your anxiety for the interests of the Company. Continue, Sir, to accomplish as worthily as you have begun your career, and I have no doubt that the Minister and the Company, when well informed, will recognise all the importance of your services and will reward them. I shall see to it that they will render you all the justice which you deserve. I do remember that I have the honour to know you. The affairs on which we have to correspond will today render this acquaintance more intimate, and I am looking forward to it with pleasure.

I propose to send you all that you ask of me in men as well as in arms and munitions; You will have the 50 hussars and the German Brigade at present at Machchalipatnam as you wish it. These troops were placed at your disposal by M. Godhehu, but I have to make a little observation to you on this point; it is that the union of this half brigade with your army is going to considerably augment the number of officers under your command. The officers of this brigade consist of a chief of the brigade, 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenant 2 Sub-Lieutenants and 2 Ensigns, and in addition a Captain and a Lieutenant of the hussars. You ought indeed to think that as all wish to follow their brigade, you have already forty French-men. Will you not have more than you contemplate to follow the plan of economy which you have adopted? I expect that the dispatch of troops which I shall send you, could amount to 300 men and perhaps to 350, Germans as well as Frenchmen, and I think that this number will suffice to enable you to send back to Machchalipatnam the soldiers whom you want to part with. But before taking my decision, I am awaiting your reply on this point. I request you to send it to me at your earliest.

M. Duplan told me that you have about 150 to 200 men whom you want to send back, all soldiers ruined by debauch or sickness. I have already given orders to keep the cartridges, amunition and bombs ready, as also the uniforms and hats, medicines and gun-flints, the whole in accordance with your demand, and I am writing to Machchalipatnam to send you everything that you could demand there until the receipt of this succour from which all that will have been sent to you in advance will be deducted.

There is nothing better than the good order which you have set up in order not to be deceived on the payment of your troops and prevent the abuses. Moreover, it was necessary to regulate their expense on the revenues of the four districts which ought to furnish it. But as the revenues will hardly suffice in spite of all your economy, as it is easy to judge from the statement you have sent to me, I can only approve the decision you have taken to reduce as much you can the number of your troops and to keep only what is necessary to maintain yourself on a suitable footing. I do think that the delay which your farmers make in fulfilling their engagements ought to put you in great embarrassment for the payment of the troops. The reputation and the credit which you have established for yourself can alone make up for it.

I see from the succinct and clear amount which you render me of the arrangements you have made for paying off our debts in the Deccan which together amounted to Rs. 7,33,245, that Rs. 6,00,000 have been paid in partial payment and they are today reduced to Rs. 1, 33,245 which ought to be promptly paid off.

With regard to the dues to you for the advances you have made for the subsistence of the army, it is just that you should also be reimbursed, and to succeed in it, we have only to follow the arrangements already taken by M. Godcheu for all the debts of the Deccan in general for the repayment of which he had assigned the revenues of our old and new concessions and especially those of Condavir for one year and even two, if it was necessary. But as it is proper that we should give explanation to the Company for the employment of its funds so as to satisfy it, it will be necessary, Sir, that you should produce the documents on which you can be paid. The

importance of the sums which you have to distribute demands this precaution with respect to the Company. M. Duplan is in a position to help you in the drawing-up of the accounts which are already sufficiently supported by the attestation of the officers of your army and of which you have sent me a copy.

I shall not make any change in what M. Dupleix and after him M. Godeheu, have done in the case of Reverand Montmellan. He will, therefore, be paid without difficulty the emoluments which could be due to him when the question of making the repayment arises, and as for M. de. Conflans, you will continue to carry him on your roll. But his salary, as also all other debts of the Deccan, which ought to be drawn on the revenues of the districts of the north, will remain in safe keeping. He is an officer who deserves consideration ; moreover, we are much indebted to persons who have made recommendations in his favour.

The affairs with which you are entrusted deserve all my attention because of their importance and because of the consequences they may have. I am relying much on your punctuality to inform me of everything interesting that takes place in your quarters. When the present letter reach you, you will have returned to Hyderabad where, as you point out to me, the Nawab proposed to take his quarters during the monsoon. Balajirao, is, in my opinion, the only enemy which he has to fear today. If, as it is reported, the Emperor has left his capital to make a tour of his empire and set proper order in it, he will certainly, not spare Balajirao who is one of the most powerful disturbers of it.

I do not know if it would not be desirable for the emperor to come to the Deccan. You have a credit and a reputation which could serve much to turn this revolution in our favour. I expect from the beneficence of time some events which would procure us a favourable occasion to come out honourably of all these straits, if we are obliged to make the retrocessions of which there is a talk today.

M. Law will lead the detachment which I have intended for you and he will be joined by Messrs. Dupassage and Le Manitier in whose favour you have spoke to me. This reinforcement of troops

will reassure the Nawab's and destroy the unfavourable impressions which our antagonists try to give him about us. I leave to your prudence the care of maintaining things in the equilibrium in which they are today until the orders which we await from France. You have done well to prevent Balajirao from coming to these parts. He would have definitely created trouble in the territory which needs peace.

When I have the occasion to write to the Nawab, I shall pay attention to what you point out to me. I shall address you my letters without bags such as he sends me his and sealed with a seal.

Moreover you can write to the Nawab and other native noblemen, Muslim or Hindu in my name, when you judge it necessary; and to prove to you that the confidence I have in you is not less than that which Messrs. Dupleix and Godeheu have shown you, I am sending you my two seals, big and small, to use them as you deem it, suitable according to the circumstances. It would be advisable that you should send me a copy of the letters which you write in my name with their replies.

In the negotiations which took place in Europe on the affairs of India, it would have been very desirable in France to distinguish the affairs of the Deccan from those of Arcot. But that is to what they would not agree in England. If they could have come to an agreement on the former, they would have soon settled the latter.

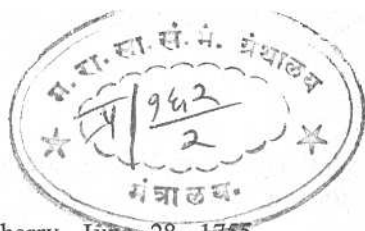
I am worried when I see that you are away for our concessions of the north which your army ought to protect; I am more tranquil and happier when I see that you are never them.

Please, Sir, send me all the plans which you have sent to M. Godeheu and even join to them new ones if you had occasion to draw them.

In case you foresee, Sir, that you need to employ someone in one of the four provinces or in other places, I recommend to you M. De La Molee whom I have sent to Machchalipatnam few days back and who is actually there.

Balajirao has sent me a sarpech as a present; I received it today.

I remain, etc.



C² 86, f. 185 v^o-186 v^o.

Pondicherry, June 28, 1755.

I am replying, Sir, to your letter of the 1st instant¹. It has given me a lot of pleasure by into forming me that although you found the Krishna already too swollen by the rising waters, you happily crossed this river with all the army. Thus, I see that you prevented the grumblings by your resolution to cross it the first along with the Nawab. Suppose that you have actually returned to the monsoon quarter which you intended to choose and are in a position to watch from there over the tranquillity of the Deccan and the security of the Nawab.

Nothing is more honourable for the nation and for you, particularly than the letter of this sovereign which you have sent me. I was not less sensible of that of the King of Mysore of which you have sent me the translation. If the campaign which you had just undertaken was painful, you ought to feel compensated for your fatigues by the success of your enterprise and the satisfaction which you ought to get from it. I feel very happy when I see that this expedition, which was undertaken in some sort inspite of us and from which we had reason to fear some consequences with respect to our alliance with the King of Mysore, had turned to the advantage to the nation because of the attention you paid to conciliate the two parties in a manner to force them to express their gratitude to you. Do your best to affirm the authority of the Nawab. The improvement in his finances for which he is obliged to you, combined with the order which you have put in them, well contribute much to it. You should await yourself of the time which you spend with him to put him in a position to do without us so that your retirement when it must take place, should be less painful to him and create less effect on the people of Hindustan in whose esteem we would be lost irretrievably if we were obliged to abandon him at a time when he would need succours ; we would moreover, lose along with our reputation, the fruit of your pains and your labours and all the French blood spilt for the

1. This letter is missing.

last four years for the glory of the arms of the King and the advantage of the nation.

I ardently wish that the project of the confederation of all the Marathas against Balajirao materialises. I think that this project would lead us to the goal which we have in view for the preservation of the Nawab. I am impatient to know its outcome.

The vessel *Le Silhouette* destined for Bengal will halt at Machchalipatnam to deliver the munitions and other goods which you have asked of me. It will also disembark a detachment of hundred Germans from the brigade of Brandt. I await your reply on the question of the number of officers, you require so that I should accordingly give orders at Machchalipatnam. I have already informed you that I had received a sarpech from Balajirao. He demands from me in a letter which he wrote to me simultaneously the (sar) desh mukhi and the Chauthai of the province of Arcot. Besides, he offers me several assurances of friendship.

The patamars of your letter of the 8th of this month to which I am replying arrived here on the 26th.

I confirm to you, Sir, what you must have already learnt that M. Daublin has been made a Captain by M. Godeheu. I have given orders for sending him his commission.

I remain etc.

C² 86, f. 101-102.

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang
8th June, 1755.

Sir,

Although I had informed you that I would write to you only after my arrival in Hyderabad, as the fatigues of a strenuous and daily march hardly give breathing time, I, however, hasten to inform you that the army crossed the river Krishna, the last one that remained to be crossed, to proceed to Hyderabad. In spite of the diligence with

which we reached the bank of this river, even covering 14 Koss a day, we found it swollen and fordable only by elephants. The Nawab and myself crossed it to urge the army to follow us. This proceeding stopped the discussions. The sequel justifies it, as the floods abated (?) very much two days later.

I terminated the most strenuous campaign I have ever conducted but at the same time, one of the most glorious ones for the French name and most advantageous to Salabat Jang. Until this year, I had been occupied in fighting to secure recognition for him as Subhedar of the Deccan. Firmly, established in this dignity, he lacked what was most essential to maintain himself in it, I mean funds, and an order in his finances, a matter in which it had not yet been possible to succeed. That is the fruit of this campaign.

The Nawab and everyone interested in his welfare are for ever showering praises on me. They all agree that they cannot make a sufficient return for the services of the French who are faithful and solid allies.

It is not my personal glory, it is that of the Nation, but for which fact I would observe a deep silence on this subject. The Nawab is writing to you to express his satisfaction.

Some days back I received by a dromedary messenger a letter from the Dalway of Mysore of which I send you herewith the translation, a fresh proof of the good luck I had in contenting the two parties.

I remain, etc.,

P. S. :

Murarrao's affair is terminated. I shall shortly give you its detail, as well as of the Confederation of all the Marathas against Balajirao.

I request you to inform me in how many days the bearers of this letter arrive at your end. There are messengers who have promised me to cover 30 Koss a day. They will leave on the 9th in the morning.

C²-86, f. 102 v^o-103.

Translation of a letter from the Raja of Mysore to M. de Bussy.

By the grace of God let this letter reach the Nawab Umdat Elmulk Bahadur Guzam Farjang Siphaye Salar who deserves to be the greatest chief and the greatest genius among the Nations. Let him always be the favourite of his Monarch, etc.

My desire to meet you and know you cannot be expressed in a letter. I must prostrate myself a thousand times before the Almighty to offer him thanks for the circumstance that you came with your forces and with those of the Mughals of whom you are the ally, in order that my affairs may be terminated by your mediation, with the result that in spite of the losses I incurred previously, I satisfied the Mughals. I swear by God indeed that it is through you that my life, my country, my honour and my faith have been preserved. Among the Europeans I know no other friends besides the French; I fervently hope that you will consequently continue the same favour and the same protection to me; that you will always employ your mediation to terminate my affairs with the Darbar of Salabat Jang. I need not write to you anything more. I seize the skirting of your dress and remain attached to it.

We, the undersigned, certify that this translation corresponds to the original which we have seen and understood when interpreted. Executed in the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang on 27th May, 1755. Signed :

Montagnier de la Roque, de Monjustin, Jesuit.

C²-86, f. 103-104 v^o.

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
12th July¹, 1755.

Sir,

These few lines accompanying the duplicate of my last letter will apprise you of the complete victory which the Emperor has recently won over the Pathan Abdally whom you must not confound with this Ahmed Abdally or Adilshah who thrice marched as far as Lahore to seize the Empire and was recalled to Persia by the troubles which arose there. The one in question who recently lost his head was a rebel who had a large army and the same design as Adilshah. The Emperor who had left Delhi, as I had informed you did not intend to return to it except after traversing and setting order in his states. He was hesitating between the decision to go first to Bengal or descend into the Deccan. The Vazir who is, as you know, the nephew of Salabat Jang, wanted to lead his Master into the Deccan to unite his forces with those of the Subhedar and together reduce the Maratha power. On the contrary, the Emperor wanted to proceed to Bengal to acquire, before everything else, a Khajina which he absolutely lacks since the revolution last year. In the meanwhile, this Abdally marched to Lahore. Without changing his designs, the Vazir sent against him an army which was beaten. This result determined the Vazir and the Emperor to march in person against this rebel. The action took place between Lahore and Delhi in which the Mughal Emperor had all the advantage. This sovereign continued his march to Lahore and must have arrived there. I have just received a very obliging letter from the Vazir, of which here is the substance. "He writes to me that by supporting Salabat Jang we have supported the Emperor and the Empire, that our achievements for the Subhedar of Deccan, lead him to aspire after our alliance and our friendship. He finally tells me not to make any difference between him and Salabat Jang, that they are both of the same family of Asafjah. He offers me as well as to the Nation all the services which may depend

1. 12th June.

on him at the Court of Delhi." This is, Sir, the news from the north. The report of the project of the Confederation of all the Marathas against Balajirao continued to spread here. I cannot yet give you information about this matter which will probably give me sufficient occupation this winter with negotiation. All the same, there is a strong rumour that the Dowager Queen of Satara and King of the Marathas, sworn enemies of Balajirao, have deposited in the hands of a third party more than two crores worth of bonds for the success of this affair, and that the leadership of the enterprise is to go to Murarrao. This is the third storm that I see rising over the head of Balajirao and which he could disperse. The Marathas cannot easily suffer the domination of this Brahmin, and the Darbar of the Nawab takes good care to foster divisions from which it always derives some advantage.

The whole army has fortunately crossed the Krishna; only the Nawab's artillery and a part of mine and the heavy baggage remained behind under the escort of 4,000 to 5,000 men, for want of animals to haul them; I am seeking them in all directions. I shall give you exact information, Sir, about all my operations, as well as about my arrangements for the renewal of the farmings of our Districts given to us as a security, I mean for Rajahmundry, for, the others are given for three years. I expect to arrive at Hyderabad towards the end of the month.

I remain, etc.

C² 86, f. 187-188.

Pondicherry, July 1, 1755.

I received day before yesterday your letter of the 12th ultimao with the duplicate of that of the 8th. The news which you communicate to me is very interesting and becomes for us a proper subject for serious reflections. I am delighted to see the success of the first expeditions of the Emperor, and the victory which he has just won

over the Pathan Abdali can only encourage him in the plan which he appears to have formed to restore order in his Empire. I repeat it to you very sincerely and I continue to think that it would be desirable that future circumstances should permit the Emperor to appear in the Deccan, and I am convinced that not only will this event contribute much to confirm and affirm the authority of Salabat Jang but would also facilitate for us sure means to enable us to separate ourselves from this prince when the time comes, without exposing him and in such a manner that our retreat cannot at all diminish the high reputation which the Frenchman today enjoys in this part. It remains to be seen if this visit of the Emperor does not become too onerous for the Nawab.

In my last letter of the 13th June, I have lightly mentioned this subject to you. But what you communicate to me about the favourable dispositions which the Vazir has shown for you and so justly for Salabat Jang and for us, leads me to believe that today the materialization of this project could have some real semblance. Besides, Sir, I shall await your reflections on this matter and the resolutions which the emperor could take.

I request you to send me the copy of the letter which the Vazir has written to you. These documents do us known and when the occasion arises, they can be very very useful.

I leave to your judgment the care to preserve the divisions which exist among the chiefs of the Marathas and Balajirao. I think that the Nawab can only profit by them.

I shall be delighted to learn about the passage of the artillery of your army and the heavy baggage which could not still quit the banks of the Krishna. I shall also be delighted to know about the arrangements which you will have taken on the subject of the renewal of farmings of Rajahmundry.

Herewith is a letter for the Nawab. I request you to deliver it to him on my behalf.

Along with this letter you will receive a box meant for you which contains my two seals.

I wish you good health and request you to be convinced of the sincerity of the sentiments with which I have the honour to remain, etc.

P.S.

I learn, Sir, that the prince of Balapur is threatened with invasions on the part of the King of Mysore who has already seized a part of his territory. I request you to employ your good offices with the Nawab so that he feels the effects of the protection of the French which he has come to claim

Herewith is a copy of the translation from the French of my letter to Salabat Jang.

C² 86, f. 188-190.

Pondicherry, July 7, 1755.

Sir,

Since my letter were dispatched by the vessel *Le Silhouette*, I reflected, on the project of the confederation of all the Marathas against Balajirao. You say that Murarrao is likely to be the leader of the enterprise. If this project materialises and if this man really succeeds in humbling the high reputation of Balajirao, will he not become a man to be dreaded, and puffed up with his success, could he not profit by the happy position, in which he would be, to come with arms in hands to demand from us what he claims to be due to him by the French ? I have already told you that he had demanded from me the payment of a large sum, and you are aware that these sorts of men never forget their claims, well or ill founded. Thus, Sir, I think that it would be advisable to take, in the coming arrangements certain precautions which would protect us from any attempt on the part of Murarrao. Could you not employ your credit to obtain from this man a complete waiver of his claims on us and try to obtain it from him before he is invested with the mission with which he is to be entrusted ? You could only communicate to

him the projected intentions, and you could at the same time impress upon him that the French can have much share in the choice that is going to be made of him, and that for this reason he must formally renounce his claims which he raises to more than twelve lakhs.

I leave to you, Sir, the care to pursue this affair. I content myself with furnishing you with the idea so that if there is a possibility, we could succeed in getting rid of the anxieties which this Maratha can create for us.

I still think, Sir, of another object which is not less interesting and which is worthy of your attention and of mine. The state in which M. Godeheu has left at the time of his departure this part which, in spite of all his attentions, does not respond to his expectations, the uncertainty in which I am whether the arrangements taken here are confirmed in Europe and can be executed according to the orders which will be sent to me, finally, the conduct which the English are adopting with respect to us and which today from all their proceedings and secret intrigues demonstrates the spirit which guides them, everything demands that I must, in my turn, make preparations calculated to stop them opportunely and capable of re-establishing in these parts our superiority which we have lost. For all these considerations I must think of the means to maintain, if it is necessary, a state of war, and you know that the sinews and the soul of operations is money. In this respect we are stinted, and we have not very nearly the resources of the English who are actually in a position to make preparations of every kind and which they are making effectively. It would, therefore, be necessary to limit, Sir, all your operations. If in such circumstances, you could create some occasions which might, without compromising us, procure us some funds, and it is in these instances that our love for the real welfare (of the nation) demonstrates itself fully pervasion. I know perfectly well, and indeed. I could forestall all the well-founded objections which you have to offer to me, but our present state and the actual position of affairs oblige us to take precautions by employing the resources which are and can be in our power. What you have done so far is undoubtedly very glorious for the nation, but you will earn additional credit from the Company, if, by your means, these objects

could be realised. The importance of the subject demonstrates to you better than I can say it to you, the whole extent of such a service, and it is worthy of you and me.

In the impending revolution which ought to take place among the Marathas, Salabat Jang, who today ought to be more attached to us than ever (at least it ought to be so if he has gratitude), could he not render us this service, either by employing indirectly the Frenchmen who are with him, or by displaying them opportunely on the scene ?

However, I observe to you, Sir, that you alone ought to be informed of the plan and that we should communicate to Salabat Jang (I think) our needs and, the means which we wish to employ to succeed in it only at the proper time or when you yourself would think it necessary.

This, is Sir, enough to call your talents into play. I am very much convinced that you need only the occasions to use them. I speak to you with a frankness which ought to answer you for all my sincerity. Therefore, I await from you a perfect return and an instructive detail on the items of this letters. My two seals should reach you by way of Machchalipatnam. Use them as we have agreed and if you think that it is advisable that I should write to the great Vazir and even to the Emperor, I approve in advance all that you will write to them in my name. Only send me copies of these letters.

I have the honour to be, etc.

C²-86, f. 104v^o-120.

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
on the banks of the Krishna, 20th June, 1755.

Sir,

I have just received the duplicate of your letter of the 25th May and I do not know where the first copy could have gone.

I am, therefore, guilty, Sir, unwittingly and in spite of my care to see that everything comes off just as you would wish. For five years, I have not spared to employ threats, promises, punishments and rewards to induce and force the harkaras to make all possible haste, but without success. What other expedient is there left for me but to repeat the orders and the threats, so many times employed? I wish, more than anyone else, that it will bear fruit.

A fresh copy of my letter of the 2nd March left long ago. I have no doubt that you have received it. You are quite justified, Sir, in not relying on public and private reports. Those written and spread are worthless, and I dare affirm that there is not a single Frenchman who is in a position to speak about the affairs in this part with some knowledge of the facts. M. Dupleix himself, who had very extensive knowledge of the subject, agreed in his letters that he lacked much information on the affairs of the Deccan. He used to write to me that he always submitted his ideas to mine for the affairs with which I was charged. When I entered the Deccan (for the second time), he sent me a paper written in his own hand by which he authorized me to act according to the circumstances without waiting for his orders, entirely leaving the affairs of the North to me, upholding all my actions, at the same time not being attributing the failures to me. Although the way of thinking of M. Dupleix (who always behaved towards me more as a friend than as a superior) was not a rule for M. le Godeheu, he, however, felt the necessity to allow me to act according to the circumstances. And this is how he explains himself in his letter of the 16th September of the last year. "As I think, Sir, and as I have always thought that the delicate affairs which you have to handle in the Deccan cannot be in better hands, and as I am convinced of your zeal for the glory and advantage of the Nation, I do not hesitate at all to confirm all the powers which M. Dupleix had previously given to you, either for negotiating with the Mughals and others according to circumstances, or for taking all the measures for war and policy which are often determined by a single moment seized opportunely. Consequently, you can open the letters, reply to them, and write them as you deem it fit. For this purpose, I am sending you a stamp of my seal. Kindly have a similar one prepared so that you can use it as occasion arises. As

for your troops and officers, allow me to entrust you with the care to make changes which you will deem appropriate; I have it to you with full confidence. We are so far from each other that I may do on this point something which would be embarrassing to you for lack of knowledge of the subject-matter. Therefore, keep those whom you find serviceable and send back the rest."

The last item concerns the officers to be dispatched for this army. This requires choice, and as I pointed out to you in my letters of the 15th and the 20th May, it is necessary that I should be informed of those whom you would like to send here; otherwise, I would be very much embarrassed. One M. Langlois and Le Pettesier came to Hyderabad without being announced to me from Pondicherry.

What I have just written to you, Sir, is not to put you in a sort of necessity to follow the same course as your predecessors. There is nothing more freely placed than confidence, and as I wrote you in my letter of the 15th May, far from wishing to abuse yours, I want to deserve it.

Now, to comply in a satisfactory manner with your desire to know something about the Subhedar of the Deccan and the Raja of Mysore, it is necessary to take things a little farther back, and state them briefly, so as to give a complete understanding of the true position of each one, between whom it is possible to suppose a sort of equality which never existed. This is the source of misapprehensions under which Europeans labour on this point.

When Aurangzeb descended into the Deccan to complete the process of bringing this part of the peninsula under the Mughal domination, he set up what are known as Palegars, Zamindars, Rajas, whom the Europeans call 'Kings', and established them, I repeat, as tributaries of the Empire, leaving territories in their possession large ones, in the case of some, smaller ones in the case of others, and imposed on all an annual tribute. The word 'Zamindar' has its origin in 'Zamin', which means land, and signifies, possessor of lands. The word 'Palegnir' or 'Paleagar' has very nearly the same significance. The word 'Raja', which we interpret commonly and inappropriately as 'King', is only a title which is bestowed on Hindus, as those of

'Khan', 'Jang', 'Daula' and 'Mulk' are bestowed on the Muslims. The only Indian Princes in the Deccan who have borne the title of 'King' rightly are those of Vijapur, of Golkonda and Bidar. The Zamindars, such as the Raja of Mysore, were in the beginning only guardians of the territory who had on the agricultural labourers.

I mean, on the harvests, either a right of ransom of 5%. Besides, they held lands on lease from the Government, had some lands as a jahgir and others as 'amanat'. In the course of time and as a result of the weakness of the Mughal Government, they appropriated a part of the estate which they held from their Master, expanded themselves, harassed the people, refused to pay the tributes and plundered the agricultural labourers. This is the cause of the continual disputes between the Zamindars, Palegars and the particular Governors whose object is to hold the Zamindars within their expected limits, before the six 'subhas' of the Deccan were united under the same master. The Raja of Mysore submitted his accounts and paid his tribute to the Subhedar of Vijapur just as that of Tanjaour and Tiruchchirappalli paid it to that of Arcot. I come back to the information you wish to have on the Raja of Mysore. The Emperor then imposed on him a tribute of 5 lakhs. This covenant was at first faithfully observed, so that all the various vassals sent their tribute to Agra and Delhi, until the Mughal authority declined. By slow degrees, they got into the habit of paying this tribute only when they saw themselves forced to do so, without, however, ever disputing these dues.

Nizam-ul-Mulk, uniting under his authority these two Governments which from the Deccan, became, in respect of all the different vassals, the Emperor's officer to whom they were to pay the tributes. This circumstance changed the system established by Aurangzeb, *vis-a-vis* the Court of Delhi. But the dues remained in their original state, with this sole difference that force had to be employed to demand them successfully.

Salabat Jang, by succeeding his father, assumed this authority. Today recognized by all the powers which share the Deccan (and especially the Maratha power), fortified with rights from the Emperor to govern the Deccan, he consequently demands the tributes from all

the Zamindars of this part of the Peninsula as their legitimate Master and unconditionally. The accounts were settled up to the present year, without prejudice to the following years. Founded on this sovereign and incontestable right, the Subhedar of the Deccan, at the head of a large army, reinforced by all the allied Marathas and the Mansabdars of the Empire, supported besides by French forces, carried far his just claims on the Raja of Mysore. In addition to 60 lakhs which were due to him for 12 years, he wanted to recover from him all the places this Raja had seized in the province of Shira, restrict him to the original limits prescribed for him and demand from him a strict account of all the revenues collected from the territories seized by him. This project, if put into execution, would have fetched about a Crore and 60 lakhs into the coffers of the Nawab, but I objected to the manner in which the affairs were being treated. It is only at my earnest solicitations that the Nawab or rather the Darbar waived its claims. In a sense, I have served the Raja of Mysore better than Salabat Jang on this occasion. But I served the latter with a zeal and disinterestedness, with which he is pleased, in the recovery of the tributes from all the Zamindars of Vijapur. This fact made him forget the contradictions he had noticed in me when the expédition to Mysore was being mooted and compensated him for the scanty sum he thought he had received from this Raja considering his claims, although the sum is sufficiently large, since it amounts to 50 lakhs, namely 35 lakhs for the Treasury, 12 lakhs for the Court expenses which usually goes into the treasury of the Divan of the Emperor in charge of the affairs of the Deccan and one lakh for each of his brothers. The services I have rendered to the Raja of Mysore are not limited to preventing the Nawab from raising bigger sums; I had also to intervene to end the discussion which arose on the manner of paying the amount agreed upon. The Nawab's Darbar insisted on cash payment and refused the bills on bankers, jewels, etc. which the Raja of Mysore (Who either feigned his treasury was empty or it really was) offered in payment. This dispute went on for several days and I again succeeded in adjusting this matter just as the Raja could wish. Shah Nawaz Khan, Waquil Mutlak or Chief Minister who owes this office to me, fell in with my views. The 50 lakhs were paid as follows : 12 lakhs in cash, 8 lakhs payable in three months on

a promissory note from the dalvay, 9¹ lakhs in Bills on the Bankers of Hyderabad payable in 5 months and 11 lakhs in jewels according to the usage of the Asiatics, in all 50 lakhs. You will realize, Sir, from this enumeration and from that I gave you in my letter of the 15th May what embarrassments were. However, Salabat Jang expressed to me his satisfaction in an unequivocal manner; the whole Darbar was of his opinion on this point, and he is going to write to you about it in the same words. The Raja of Mysore who was aware of the designs of the Nawab and of my service to him, considers me as his liberator. This is, Sir, the explanation for this kind of contradiction, (which, in your opinion, is difficult to reconcile), in that the Subhedar of the Deccan and the Raja of Mysore should be equally satisfied with my services. Although the latter has given sufficiently large sums, he is compensated by the jahgir of Dessota, conferred upon the child born to him, as I had communicated it to you in my letter of the 15th May, and by the retreat of the Maratha army whose incursion would have cost him huge losses, independently of the sums which he would have been obliged pay to them.

According to the intentions of the Minister and of the Company, the alliance of the Subhedar of the Deccan ought to be preserved and handled tactfully by the same means which have served to form it. These do not consist simply in repeated assurances and declarations, a feeble bound unable to bind us in friendship. Experience shows clearly enough that the Asiatic seeks an alliance only inasmuch as he finds his advantage in it or inasmuch as he fears that this ally may become his enemy. It is from this double point of view that I estimate ours, very much convinced that so long as it is thus considered, nothing can either break it or shake it. That of the Raja of Mysore, of a rank much inferior to that of the Subhedar of the Deccan, ought to be valued purely because of the interest of the sums which we claim from him. So far the Raja had not made an alliance with anyone. Ambition of the Minister who governs it induced him to participate in the quarrel of the Europeans in the hope of possessing Tiruchchirappalli and its dependencies. Hardly did this accord come

1. 19 lakhs.

H 4328—9a

to light than it aroused the greatest clamours here. Everyone protested that we wanted to give a place of this importance, a domain of the Emperor, to a Zamindar whom they were determined to hold in subjection and prevent from expanding. Balajirao wrote to me that he would become our enemy if Tiruchchirappalli was given to the Mysorians. I replied to all that, after the surrender of this place, nothing that is contrary to the laws and the usage of the Empire would be done in this matter. Unfortunately, the result has dispensed me with giving fuller explanations. You can see, Sir, all this detail in my correspondence with M. Dupleix. The outcome of all that is that the affairs which are discussed in your parts, as they concern only individuals, differ much and cannot be placed on a parallel with those of the Deccan which are the affairs of the main body of the Mughal nation. It is not Salabat Jang who is personally our ally, it is the whole nation whose claims and agreements, resulting from them, are of a level much superior to that of all the Powers which share the authority in the Peninsula. Salabat Jang is indeed vested with all that of a sovereign, but he has a Waquil Mutlak or Chief Minister who is also an officer of the Emperor. Moreover, he has a Divan from the Court of Delhi to look after the affairs of the Deccan, without whose consent he can neither transfer nor give any territory as a pure gift. He has, besides, a Baxi, also appointed by the Padshah, who distributes titles, offices etc. He has also three persons called Umraws who are keepers of records and through whose hands pass all the accounts of the Deccan, the tributes and other accounts. This is what constitutes the Darbar of the Nawab. This Council decides all the affairs and it must be kept posted with these. I shall not extend further this enumeration which would appear to you superfluous from the point of view of our particular affairs.

On the very confession of the Mysorean, I have rendered him a great service by sparing him the whole burden of the yoke which was rightly being prepared for him. You must have seen in my letter of the 15th of the last month the detail of the service I have further rendered him. In recognition of all that, he wrote to me nice letters, sent me a horse worth Rs. 300 to 400 and a sarpech worth

Rs. 500 to 600. I gave him in return article for article, but of a value superior to his. I hope he will show his gratitude for so many services by satisfying the Company. In his turn, Salabat Jang, in the presence of the assembled Darbar, presented to me a sabre, Katary, a round hand-guard set in small rubies and plain diamonds worth Rs. 400 to which he joined a necklace of pearls worth Rs. 2,500. Messrs. Duplant, Law and Reverend Father de Monjustin were witnesses of this ceremony. These sorts of presents given in a similar circumstance and with such ostentation are the greatest honours that can be received in Hindustan. Therefore, I received letters after letters of congratulations on it from all the powers. I resume the sequel of your letter, interrupted by this digression.

The body of Maratha troops, which was on the point of irrupting into Mysore, retired to its territory for the monsoon-quarter.

The negotiation with Murarrao had a varried fortune. With the exception of the province of Shira which was not given to him, the affair was terminated according to the plan which you have seen. The Nawab pretended to lay the blame on the fauzdar of Shira and on that fo Savnur Bankapur for some fortresses of which Murarrao was left a peaceful possessor. The plan to maintain a body of cavalry in my service cannot take effect out of consideration for Balajirao.

The monsoon-quarter is fixed at Hyderabad. I had informed you about it in my recent letters.

Irrespective of all the reports which our antagonists can whisper into the ears of the Nawab to set him against us, so many revolutions and changes that have taken place in our government during the space of 4 months, have become the subject of political reflections of the Mughals and of the Marathas. Each one establishes a system as he pleases, and asks me explanations if that does not chime in with his ideas. Intrigues and cabals of our rivals have been so far rendered ineffective and they will remain ineffective so long as the same antidote which I have employed against them is availed of, that is to say,

frustrate them by others better conducted, while continuing to establish as a principle what I have mentioned above, that is to impress upon the Mughals the important services which they derive from our alliance and the disadvantages of turning us into enemies.

Since the time I am charged with this expedition, I have had no quarrel directly with the English, not even when I passed the monsoon-quarter at Rajahmundry, although they have establishments on the coast of this district. The affairs of the Deccan have always been absolutely extraneous to the disputes which have arisen between us and them. They are so convinced of this fact that they did their utmost to persuade the Commissioner-General to allow them to participate in them. Luckily, they did not succeed in this artifice, with the result that all the events in the Deccan, in which the French have the largest share, if they offered umbrage to the English, cannot give them a pretext for complaint and quarrel.

All my thoughts are directed to preserving the friendship of the Mughals and of the Nawab and to holding the Marathas in check. It is not simply with sweet words that I have so far fulfilled this commission so delicate in itself and so embarrassing. We must necessarily consent to expeditions, undertake ventures which are in their interests on which they cannot be deceived at all. This is the plan of conduct which I have followed for five years. Today my ambition and the desire most flattering for me is to deserve your esteem and even your affection. I have no longer any idea of making a fortune ; I only seek to accomplish the work which has occupied me so long. The confidence of the General of the Nation is absolutely necessary for its success. Besides, yours being flattering for me, will assure the success, which without it, will be doubtful and rare. The scene is so moving in this part that if the person does not have full liberty to decide on the spot, the circumstances change, the conjunctures alter when letters from Pondicherry arrive and the favourable occasion is irretrievably lost. There has not been any ground to repent for the confidence with which I was honoured. I seek nothing

but the success of the Nation. Knowledge of the language and familiarity with the general and private interests shorten for me work which would wear out any one else.

Your reflection on the question of the Nawab's demands is just and the expedient you suggest should be the only one to be sought if the Subhedar of the Deccan could only write about it to Muhammad Ali Khan or sound him on this subject without recognizing him, by this single step, as Nawab or governor of Arcot. So long as he will be considered as an intruder, we should not demand anything from him. If the Nawab's Council negotiates with Muhammad Ali Khan and makes the slightest overture to him on the revenues of this province, it will be a tacit consent that he is the governor of it. This steps will necessarily entail that of negotiating with the English with whom the Darbar would perhaps become reconciled to enable it to obtain the revenues of the Carnatic through them. This will be, I suppose, absolutely contrary to our interests. You will see this matter amply dealt with in my correspondence with M. Le Godeheu. It is not so easy to pacify the Council of Salabat Jang on this point as him personally. Such vast revenues, of which he is deprived for five years, would excite the envy of any other than the Asiatics who do not claim any disinterestedness.

While I was still at Rajahmundry and when I knew for certain that the expedition of Mysore would take place, I wrote about it to Monsieur Le Godeheu whose replies tended only to cleverly dissuade the Nawab from this design, ordering me, however, to follow him if he persisted in this project. Could I hesitate? The execution of the plan, which he prescribed to me, in case this expedition took place, was impracticable, and for lack of knowledge of the local situation, it exposed me to absolutely ruin our affairs in the Deccan. He did not think (and I do not know why) that I should negotiate with the Mysorians for the sums claimed from them; I did not know besides, also what they amounted to or their condition. I, therefore, could not avail myself of the circumstances to obtain any partial

payment from the Raja. This step would have exposed me to take extreme measures for which I was not sufficiently authorised, as the Commandant-General had not deemed it proper to give me full powers for this purpose, which I asked of him by my letter of the 29th November. Once this affair was initiated, it had to be terminated either the Raja of Mysore would have accepted my proposal or rejected it. I could not anticipate the first possibility; he would not have failed to raise as an objection to me the sums which he was then obliged to give to the Nawab; he would have put forward the conditions to which the French had committed themselves, namely, surrender to him of Tiruchchirappalli, of which he awaited the execution and the expenses he had incurred in vain on this object.

In the second case, if he had rejected my demands, the circumstance necessitated that I should take measures to force him to accept them. Then I became responsible for the rupture which could have resulted from it. If an objection was raised that I ran the same risks by working for the Nawab, it is easy to see the difference. I am authorized and obliged to serve Salabat Jang as he pleases in all matters that relate to his interests, the failure of which cannot either concern me or the Nation. There was, therefore, only the expedition to Balapur proposed by the Raja to the Nawab (and for which the Dalvay had as much desired our approach as to force the Marathas to retire,) which could enable me to obtain from the Raja of Mysore some partial payment as he had promised it to me through his Waquils. But this operation could not take place for reasons which I have pointed out to you. This project can perhaps be put into execution next year.

Murarrao is incapable of causing me any anxiety. He will perhaps need my help. He knows that Balajirao is his chief enemy. If the projected Confederation does not materialize, Murarrao would indeed have to bear the whole weight of the wrath of this enemy, stronger and more powerful than he. He will have recourse to me, if he wants to avoid total ruin. After letting them weaken each other a little, I

shall see that I am requested to play the role of the peacemaker. Moreover, Sir, I think that you should set little store by his demand for the salary of his troops. It is the Raja of Mysore who had hired his services¹, and it is to him that he should address himself. Furthermore, this Maratha has made sufficiently large profits so that his demand should not be entertained. As for the sums claimed from Nandi Raja, as I said before, he will always raise as an objection the condition of the surrender of Tiruchchirappalli which had been promised to him.

I had informed you in my recent letters of the state of the finances of this army. The expedient which the Commissioner had deemed it proper to suggest to pay off the debts of the Deccan was put into execution according to the agreements with M. de Moracin. Two thirds of the revenues of Condavir would have reduced these debts to Rs. 1, 33, 245 as . 2½, according to the detail which I have supplied to you in my letter of the 20th May. The balance was also to be paid from the same revenues next year. The news which I receive from Srikakulan relieves me of anxiety. Ibrahim Khan, an old employee of the French whom I had placed as governor and farmer of this district, has met with success far beyond my expectations. I have been lucky even with those whom I have charged with the administration of our districts. That of Srikakulam, farthest off, in which there is a swarm of Zamindars, did not appear to me to yield much this year. But Ibrahim Khan has established such good order there that he assures me that I shall collect revenues on which I had placed but slender hopes and which I thought would either be absorbed by the expenses or remain in arrears. I am in a position to pay off the rest of the debts in the Deccan without again having recourse to the revenues of Condavir. I even expect to find the amount for the salary of M. L'abbe de Montmellan. As for that of M. Le Marquis de Conflans, the decisions from Europe will remove the uncertainties.

¹This is not a correct statement. It is Dupleix who had engaged the services of Murarrao by an agreement signed on 20th December 1752.

There now remain to be paid only my own advances of which I have charged Monsieur Duplant to submit to you the statement and for the payment of which I hope you will be kind enough to grant me a resource on the revenues of Condavir, which, according to the original plan, were to be entirely devoted towards the payment of the debts of the Deccan for a period of two years and of which only one would have sufficed.

Monsieur Duplant, while submitting to you the statements which you have asked for, must have certainly pointed out to you our extreme need in munitions, arms, etc.

After discussing public affairs, allow me to talk to you a little about private ones. So long as M. Dupleix was at the head of the administration, he considered this army as an itinerant factory to which he distributed supplies from Europe in an equal proportion vis-a-vis other colonies. Since his departure, we have been abandoned as a forlorn child. The Company's supplies to all the Frenchmen in its service reach us only at an exorbitant price. Actually to get a bottle of wine, I have to pay as much as one golden pagoda and in this manner for other necessities of life. Honour us with the same attention which you bestow on all other factories. This detail is unworthy of you. But please give your orders so that this army is not forgotten at the time of the distribution of the supplies from Europe.

If you decide to send me fabrics such as galloons, gildings and other rare objects from Europe, I shall employ them as presents and thereby I shall avoid lot of expenses.

22nd June.

I left my letter unsealed till today to give you news from Delhi and communicate to you the contents of the Emperor's letter to Salabat Jang which we received yesterday with the usual ceremonies. Here is the extract :

"Your humble request has reached me, etc.

I have noted that after collecting the forces of the Deccan, united with those of the French, your protectors and my friends, you are marching towards the Krishna and that your plan is to enter Mysore

to collect your revenues there. I have given orders to the Vazir-el-Mulk to forward to you the accounts of the perfidious Jaydev Raja, Zamindar of Mysore. By this letter, I authorize you to receive the amount to the last anna and send it to me. For this act I shall shower my favours on you in an increasing degree, etc."

You will find attached, herewith Sir, the copy of this account which will amuse you, for, I do not think that the Court of Delhi seriously thought that Salabat Jang would have demanded the sum total even if he had received this letter sufficiently in time. Although the Nawab's Council does not regard it worthy of much attention, he is, however, going to send a copy of it to this Raja who will not set greater store by it. As I had informed you, after his victory over the Pathan Abdalli, *alias* Kutub Shah¹, the Emperor, was advancing to Lahore, but it is said that he changed his course and arrived at Agra where he intends to spend the rainy season. All the Rajputs in Hindustan have orders and are preparing to join him in this place with large forces. The Emperor's army is considerably swelling through the attentions of the Vazir (a young man full of valour and capacity), and although he is a little badly off so far as his finances are concerned, he is seeking resources for the subsistence of this army, quite numerous as it is. I can hardly speak to you at the present moment about the operations he is planning. All that will be decided during this monsoon. The grand project, I think, is to humble the power of the Marathas. But as he must have funds, for, war with this nation is very costly and as, moreover, the Subhedar of the Deccan is unable to furnish him any resources from this side (too lucky to have himself found in this campaign means to pay off the huge debts which he owed to his troops), the Emperor could indeed carry out his expedition to Bengal or at least that of Europe which he had already planned to undertake. This Soubha, as you know, Sir, closely borders on that of Bengal and is in the possession of the son of the ex-Vazir, Mansur Ali Khan, principal enemy of the present one, and from whom he could obtain large sums. On the contrary, several persons claim that the Emperor, immediately after the end of the rainy season, will march to the territory of the

1. It is difficult to know wherefrom Bussy got this name.

Rajputs to restore to them the provinces which the Marathas had seized from them, especially recapture from Balajirao that of Malwa, a territory fetching a big revenue, and to which the Narmada serves as a boundary on the side of the Deccan. The Emperor could indeed stick to this project if the Rajputs furnish him, as I said, funds for this purpose.

In spite of the excessive length of this letter, I cannot omit a reflection on the question of the alliance of the Subhedar of the Deccan compared to that of the Raja of Mysore. Besides, the difference between the sovereign and the subject, there is still a very great one in the character of the Mysorian. This Zamindar, who seeks only to aggrandize himself, was dazzled by the idea of possessing Tiruchchirappalli. As soon as the English had broken their promise to deliver this place to him, he renounced their alliance and sought that of the French because of the bait of being placed in possession of Tiruchchirappalli. M. Dupleix would certainly have been very much embarrassed if he had lost this resource offered by the ambition of the Raja of Mysore. Once this Raja loses all hope on this point, any alliance or friendship or war with him ceases. Never do Zamindars give an inch of territory, and if they gave it, the Mughals would intervene in the name of the Subhedar and of the Emperor. The Subhedar of the Deccan, when he bestows a gift, it is in the name of the Emperor. The gifts are ratified at the Court, and no one can either obstruct us or dispute us their possession. You do not find any of these advantages with men of the kind of the Raja of Mysore,, except some cash money when they think they find their own interest in it. But if you ask me, it is neither territories nor domains that you seek in the alliance of the Raja of Mysore; it cannot either be succours which he could give (in case you needed it) in men or in money, unless, as I have just said it, he is offered advantages which arouse his ambition for his own interest, which we are not in a position to do by ourselves. Experience will prove what I am stating for, I doubt very much if you will ever be satisfied in the matter of the debts this Raja owes you, unless fresh motives of interest urge him to do so. I, therefore, conclude that the alliance with this Zamindar was necessary when M. Dupleix formed it to provide for the

subsistence of our troops, and prevent by it our enemies from overwhelming us, that we can still allow it to continue to exist until we receive definite news from Europe to avoid our antagonists profiting by it (for, however further this Zamindar may appear from resuming relations with them, he would do so without difficulty if they delivered Tiruchchirappalli to him), that during this interval we must try to turn it to the best account through insinuation. But in the hypothesis that we continue to be allies of the Subhedar of the Deccan, the alliance of the Raja of Mysore becomes onerous, and we should not hesitate to break it in the case in which I just found myself and forcibly demand the arrears of all the amounts he has promised, unmindful of fear of any fatal consequences from this rupture, by all those which I have just mentioned.(?)

I cannot imagine how the Commissioner-General could fear that the Raja of Mysore would claim the protection of the two nations, English and French, against the Subhedar of the Deccan. That is betraying most complete ignorance of affairs as well as of the form of the Mughal government.

As for Murarrao and those of his kind, they can be had simply for money.

These are, Sir, my reflections which I shall not extend any further to finally terminate this letter in which you will perhaps find many repetitions. But the dispersal of the troops for the monsoon creates so much trouble for me that I sometimes do not find time to re-read my letters. We are still on the bank of the river. The Nawab's artillery has luckily passed through, mine is just passing.

I remain most respectfully, etc.

I shall no longer be in a position to write to you or to any other place, if you do not kindly send me the stationery I need for my office. The authorities of Machchalipatnam, from whom I have not received anything in this type of article for more than a year, inform me that they cannot send me anything.

I attach herewith, Sir, the translation of a letter from Salabat Jang which he wrote to me on the occasion of the proposal made to him

by the Waquils of the Raja of Mysore (who followed us) on the manner in which I should arrange the payment of the sums which the Raja agreed to give. You will see, Sir, from this document and the one which I sent you previously my manner of administering the affairs.

The statement of the sums which the Mughal Emperor ordered Salabat Jang, Subhedar of the Deccan, to claim from the Raja of Mysore according to the 'Daftars' or registers.

namely

—For the sums that remained due to Emperor 5,33,146
 Alamgir or Aurangazeb when he descended into the
 Deccan : 1000 gold rupees, 15 elephants and silver
 rupees.

—To Emperor Muhammad Shah for the right of 52,00,000
 accession to the throne 5 Elephants and Rs.

—Ditto for Ahmed Shah 5 Elephants and Rs. 52,00,000

—To Alamgir II, reigning Emperor, since last 52,00,000
 year 5 Elephants and Rs.

—For the paragana of Banaver Taluka or 40,000
 dependency of Shira which he holds on lease from
 the Government for Rs. 1,80,000 for 63 years —
 13 Crores and Rs.

—For territories of the Empire which he seized 51,60,000
 by acts violence e.g. Bangalore and its dependencies—
 evaluated per year at 25 lakhs 75,750 Rs. for
 68 years : 17 Crores and Rs.

—For the paragana of Ceruvipat per year at 81,40,000
 14 lakhs 42,400 Rs. for 60 years 7 Crores and Rs.

—To be carried forward

—For the troops which he was to maintain with 10,00,000-2 as.
 the Padshah and which he has not sent Rs.

—For 500 cavalymen and 500 foot-soldiers 84,60,000 ..
 which he was to maintain with the Subhedar of
 Shira for Rs. 1,80,000 per year for 47 years.

—For the paragana of Poudiel dues for the 1,90,031 ..
 promised Nazar.

- Dues for the Elephants born in his country 1,00,000 ..
- For arrears due by his father ... 50,00,000 ..
- For Nazar on the occasion of a victory won 1,00,000 ..
- by the Emperor 1,000 gold rupees and silver rupees.
- Ditto to Khankhanan 1 Elephant and Rs. ... 1,00,000 ..
- For the accession of Padshah Farukshiar 52,00,000 ..
- 5 Elephants and Rs.
- For arrears to Hasan Ali Khan, ex-Subhedar 50,00,000 ..
- of the Deccan Rs.
- For the Nazar to the Sarkar for the change of 2,00,000 ..
- the Raja 5 Elephants and Rs.

Carried forward

Sum total

Elephants	Gold Rupees	Crores	Lakhs	Silver Rupees	Annas
37	2,000	30	90	44,835	2

C^a 86, f. 121-127v^o.

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
on the banks of the Krishna, 26th June, 1755.

Sir

I have just received the first copy of your letter of the 25th May *via* Machchalipatnam, long after the receipt of the duplicate to which I have already replied. With it were enclosed several very old-dated private letters, in one of which a friend of mine communicates to me a piece of news which affects me very deeply. He informs me that you were ill-disposed towards me and that as you did not know to what to attribute my silence, you thought that I was trying to conceal my operations from you. I hasten to assure you, Sir, that nothing is more averse to this open-hearted nature which in me has not an iota of falseness and which has never failed since I have been at the head of this expedition, I shall not add anything to all the

details which I have given you of that which Salabat Jang has just undertaken. As the intrigues and the various projects develop during the monsoon-quarter, I shall keep you posted with them with the utmost exactitude. Please, allow me, in this letter, to set aside public affairs and talk to you of my present dispositions and, by speaking to you with an open heart, satisfy my insatiable ambition to deserve your esteem, your confidence and your friendship.

The need I finally had of rest two years ago led me to resolve to go and join my mother country. A very serious sickness (as you must have heard about it) had obliged me to proceed to Machchalipatnam. Hardly had I recovered than M. Dupleix's solicitations and the common weal urged me to once again shoulder burden which I had several times nearly succumbed. When he was preparing to leave for Europe, I found myself struggling against two opposite cravings which pursued me for a long time. On the one hand, I felt inclined, as was natural, to follow the destiny of Monsieur Dupleix to whom I owed a lot, esteeming it a great pleasure to share his disgrace. (My attachment and gratitude know no bounds with respect to those who have once honoured me with their esteem. This is, Sir, my way of thinking). Moreover, I imagined quite a dismal future, as I thought I would no longer meet with this confidence which had soothed the pains and calmed the anxieties which are inseparable from a dangerous and difficult expedition. I added to the difficulties of the mission the disgust and the perplexities of a work almost always criticised and often disapproved. The parallel I drew between the way of behaviour and thinking of M. Dupleix, in which I openly saw the disposition of a friend, and between the authority of a superior to whom I was not at all known, set before me additional pains and difficulties the burden of which appeared to me unbearable. To all these thoughts I added the longing, so natural, to go and enjoy in the midst of my family the fruit of so many labours, a longing which has not lost at all its early intensity and which is balanced only by the motive of national interests to which I can sacrifice something dearer.

Yes, Sir, the interests of the Company alone, inseparable from those of the State, stood in the way of my plans and staged a struggle within myself between aversion and zeal. I saw that in this country

everything is personal. If I had retired when M. Dupleix (who, the Asiatics had thought, would never be displaced from the post he occupied) was ousted, it would have been all over with the authority as well as with the glory of the French name in India. Our rivals who had already proclaimed my retirement, as a sequel to the fall of M. Dupleix (who, they said and wrote everywhere, had been sent back to Europe in fetters), insinuated that I was also arrested along with those who had a share in the present happenings, and that these changes had taken place by the orders of the King of England who had forced the King of France to recall M. Dupleix, forbidding the French hence forward to oppose those whom they would protect. From this assumption it was generally concluded that the protection of the former was superior and preferable to that of the latter. In short, Sir, it was everywhere nothing but indecent speeches and disgrace. You can find all these details in my correspondence and especially, in my letter to M. Le Godeheu of the 11th September (1754), of which I would repeat here the contents if I were not convinced that you have before you this correspondence.

You can imagine, Sir, what impression all these talks would have made in the Deccan where our antagonists were preparing to replace us, which step would not have been difficult for them to follow. This change would have been the epoch of the total ruin of our affairs. I need not enumerate here the proofs which speak for themselves, whether you consider the jealous envy of our antagonists or whether you consider the empty vengeance of the Asiatics on those from whom they have no longer anything to fear or expect. Indeed, the zeal for the service of the mother country triumphed, but its victory, still incomplete, needed to be supported and fortified by the assurances which, while dispelling my alarms, would confirm me in this initial liberty of action which up-till-now had contributed to my tranquillity and success. I wrote about it to the Commissioner-General with the same open-heartedness which inspires me in writing to you. I communicated to him the undecided state of my mind. As the root cause of my irresolution is nothing else but the uncertainty to know whether I would share his confidence or whether I would be obliged to fight his prejudices more often than the enemies of the State. I solicited him to frankly explain the position. He did it in the terms which I have

already reported to you in my last letter. Moreover, he exhorted me by all the incentives capable of making an impression on a gentleman to sacrifice to the public weal the longing for rest, quite legitimate as it was, adding that this sacrifice would not remain unrecognized in Europe and that he would make a report of it to the Minister and the Company which would remove the pains. So much effort was not needed to determine my uncertainties which my Zeal for the interests of the Company had already almost dispelled. What M. Le Godeheu wrote to me was more than enough to induce me to run the risks of a career in which lack of liberty to act and the fear of reverses, the failures of which would be imputed to me, are the only obstacles to the success of the enterprises. But soon after I was in the same perplexities when I heard of his departure, not knowing who was going to be his successor, and the application to affairs assumed a fresh ardour only when the Commissioner, while himself informing me of his return to Europe advised me that you were to be at the head of the French in India. I gladly recalled that I had the honour to be known to you, that I could aspire to your esteem and your friendship. I sought information from all quarters about your arrival, but failed to receive any news of it. I was then affected by an inflammation of the eyes which lasted very long and was very persistent. These delays were irritating to my anxiety to resume my responsibilities, and ignorance, though not guilty, of your arrival very nearly gave rise to prejudices which I tried to destroy from their very inception.

Certainly, Sir, no sooner did I know that you were at Pondicherry than I endeavoured to give you the picture of the position of affairs. I omitted nothing which I thought would deserve your attention. I even thought I ought to anticipate your expectations on this point, so further was I from any dissimulation. Everything was then over (I mean the operations of this campaign) and I could only submit to you an account of the past events. I considered nothing more urgent than to communicate them to you and submit them to your reflections. It is from such an enlightened tribunal that I await the commendation or blame which my administration reserves.

For a long time, fortune has ceased to incite me ; today all I desire is to quietly win your esteem. Besides the continuity of success

which your confidence will secure me, it will be all the more flattering for me, at it proceeds from the fairest judgement ; it will also be a source of consolation which can alleviate the labours and the fatigues of the painful career which I have been following for five years. Please favour with your attention its short sketch which I intend to present to you.

Independently of the dangers, inseparable from the military profession, to which I am attached by the State, I find myself in the midst of traitors and assassins who all feign an appearance of the most sincere friendship. One has always to be on one's guard against their intrigues and cabals without, however, giving an indication that one mistrusts them, for, this would estrange the persons and dismiss any overture on their part. The traps set by the Asiatic are all the more difficult to discover and avoid as they are covered with the veil of a fervent zeal for your interests of which they seek the ruin. Unaware of any common interest, each one seeks his own and tries to rise by intrigues, factions and treachery. I shall be very much compensated for all the risks I have run, all the fatigues I have endured, if my success can deserve the commendation of the Minister, the Company and yours, Sir, (It is not, I repeat it, wealth that I seek ; my labours have sufficiently earned me a fortune which I do not repent having utilized for supporting my affairs) which fact ought to serve as a fresh incentive to win the consideration and rewards which I desire and which will flatter me all the more as I shall obtain them with your recommendation. I resume the story of the anxieties and the embarrassments associated with the commission with which I am charged.

The Marathas, a restless nation, always seek troubles. They must be held in check as much by negotiation as by dread. As for the Mughals or Moors, as they are less enterprising, more haughty and more secretive, it is none the less difficult to bring them round to the desired end and if you cannot succeed in dominating them, that is to say in becoming indispensable, you become an object of their contempt. So many diverse interests so difficult to reconcile, of which you must become the arbitrator even in spite of the jealousy, from, so it say, a chain. It requires constant application, a study of individual interests the great motive power behind all the intrigues.

It is every day a new scene in which you must play your role, without which you run the risk of being its dupe. Affability, haughtiness, threats, promises, pride, a heart sometimes open, some times secretive, this is, in turns, the setting of this stage. You must add to this chaos the underhand dealings of our antagonists who have set and are still setting everything in motion to destroy the credit and the authority of the Nation in the Deccan. They have carried their arrogance to the point of insinuating that the revolutions that had taken place in our government were the result of the authority of the King of England on ours. They did not succeed in their attempt, it is true, but there remains some impression of it which is difficult to efface and I can say, without being accused of bragging, that on two occasions (in which they were unsuccessful) I saved the honour of the Nation and prevented the ruin, perhaps total, of the Company the first by returning to the Deccan after the sickness which had forced me to quit it (where, although the army remained, as I had left it, at the same strength, the French had fallen into ignominy and contempt as a result of this human nature which forms the distinctive character of the Asiatics among whom when the chief happens to fall, everything falls with him, honour, reputation, glory, possessions and advantages. It is this fatal downfall which urged me once again to take charge of the affairs and did not permit me to enjoy the rest after which I have been aspiring). The threats of the English and of their followers, at the time of the arrival of M. Le Godeheu, furnished me the second occasion, of which you can see the enumeration in my correspondence which I always think you have before you and which is yet only a sample of the mental and physical pains and of the continual fatigues which I had to undergo and which require a more animated sketch.

Twice these fatigues carried me to the death's door, and at the very time when I appeared to touch my last hour, I had to march. It is these daily marches, in spite of the severity of the climate during the sultriest weather, which ruins the most robust health. Although fortune enabled me to power many comforts, I could not yet enjoy them. Very often I miss comforts which the majority of men cannot do without meals prepared hastily, always at the merely of the incident weather, passing suddenly from the heat of the burning sun

to all the discomforts caused by floods and storms. This is my life during the last five years. I shall not pursue further a detail which might bore you. I undertook it only in order to reveal to you my inmost heart so that you should discover its most secret attachment and regulate its movements.

The uninterrupted success which has forwarded my expedition, I shall not attribute it either to chance or to the aspect of a lucky star, an absurd expression to which can be attached arbitrary and false notions. But I attribute it to the confidence with which your predecessors have honoured me, to the liberty which I enjoyed in taking decisions without being responsible for the failures. That is undoubtedly the source and the basis of so much success. It is flattering for me that they had grounds to congratulate themselves on not having put any bounds to this confidence.

Let yours, Sir, be the result of my pains, let your esteem which engages today my desires, be assured to me; I shall think that I am well rewarded; I shall be happy. I leave to the generosity of your predecessors and especially to yours the care to proclaim my services in Europe. The report which you will send of them, will give them a lustre which will enhance their merit.

You have seen from the statement of which M. Duplant is bearer, the extreme want in which we are of many things. These needs have only increased since his departure. I suffice that you should know them.

I have the honour to remain with respectful devotion, etc.

C² 86, f. 127v^o-131.

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang.
June 29, 1755.

Sir,

I attach to the third dispatch of my last letter the copy of the letters of Messrs. Verrier and Boucart about the trouble into which the letter has run. It is unfortunate (and this incident will have a dangerous consequence) that they (Governors of Surat) attempt to interfere with the privilege, which the Europeans enjoy everywhere, by deciding a commercial dispute. I have urged Salabat Jang to write to the two governors of Surat (as these gentlemen wish it). He has done it in the strongest terms, and Shah Nawaz Khan and I have added to it our letters. But you know well that however great may be the authority, if it is distant or if it cannot be enforced, they do not pay much attention to it. The most favourable result which M. Boucart can expect is that the decision of the governor is declared null and void, and the matter is referred to the judgment of the Europeans. The underwriters undoubtedly do not hope that the third part will be returned to them. As for the sum which the said governor has adjudged, he keeps it. You are not unaware that it is almost impossible to force a Muslim to part with the money. However, if the letters of Salabat Jang do not carry any weight, I shall write to Balajirao and Damaji. The latter governs the whole territory of Gujarat and whatever part the Marathas have captured from the dependency of Surat. I am very friendly with this governor (I mean this Maratha chief). I have also written to Rukn-ud-daulah, subhedar of Aurangabad, who maintains a very close correspondence with me and who is well acquainted with the two governors of Surat. This is, Sir, what I can do while waiting for your orders on this subject.

I do not know whether in our mart at Surat we have the right to have a flag or not. They have asked me to obtain a paravana of Salabat Jang to hoist it there. Kindly let me know your intentions on this point so that I should solicit this paravana, and that the French should not stay at Surat like the Armenians or other foreigners who do not seem to belong to any nation. In that case they will be exposed

to receive insults of this kind. Those who will inflict them on them will exculpate themselves by saying that these gentlemen do not represent a nation.

A certain Muzaffar Khan, who was under your command at Mahe and who betrayed the nation and Salabat Jang three years ago by joining Balajirao for hundred thousand rupees which this Maratha paid to him, has just betrayed him likewise by leaving the army (it was the one which was to enter Mysore), and joining the Pathans of Savnur-Bankapur I am informed that the brigand is in correspondence with Murarrao. I communicate this news to you, Sir, only because I have made it a point to inform you of everything, even the least important things, and this one belongs to that category and ought not to cause you any anxiety.

I have nothing to add to all that I have written to you except the very sincere promise which I give you, Sir, to support you in everything that will depend on me and go through fire and water to satisfy you. It is with these sentiments that I have the honour to remain with respectful attachment, etc.

P. S. We are marching since the last two days and I expect that we shall reach Hyderabad about the 5th or 6th July. I forgot to tell you that I had communicated your arrival to all those who ought to know about it. I await your seals.

Copy of a letter from M. Le Verrier, Chief for the French Company at Surat, to M. de Bussy, May 31, 1755.

Sir,

I am sending you this letter by a Parsi who is proceeding to the army of Salabat Jung; it is the duplicate of my letter of the 24th instant to which I refer. I have prepared for you a little note of the situation of the French today at Surat, and of the breach which the Government has committed of our privileges. The violence that is done to us in connection with an affair of a French merchant by name M. Boucart who had the misfortune to lose his ship on the 6th March, destroyed by fire, is unparalleled. The governors adjudged in their darbar, against all the customs of the European, the dispute

which arose in connection with bottomry and insurance which he had taken. They did not pay any attention to the representations which I made to them. They sent chowkies to his house to get the judgment executed and force him to give promissory notes for more than seventy-five thousand rupees. I think that Salabat Jang will not refuse to render us service in these circumstances by writing to Safdar Khan, governor of the town and to Fez Masud Khan, governor of the fortress, to point out to them that he is interested in the affairs of the French who are so attached to him that there is no difference between him and they. I solicit your good offices.

I shall be obliged to you to make haste. You will oblige one who has the honour to remain, etc.,

Signed by Verrier.

Copy of a letter from M. Boucart, a Frenchman established at Surat, to M. de Bussy.

May 31, 1755.

Sir,

The matter for which I take the liberty to write you is very painful. I had sent my ship during the last monsoon to Manilla. After making a fairly good voyage, this very ship had the misfortune to be destroyed by fire on 6th March in the vicinity of Cochin on its return. I was its single owner, so that the sum advanced amounted to Rs. 1,40,000 which I had got insured for about 5,000 to 6,000 rupees. What shall I say to you, Sir? There are men here sufficiently mean to spread the report in the place that I had given express orders to destroy my ship by fire and that I had drawn on bottomry. They charged that I had got the ship and its cargo insured for double the value. The Government of Surat, which is the greediest, seized this occasion, under the pretext that some rascals had complained to it, as it asserts got my broker arrested, had the merchants assembled at the darbar where this matter was judged arbitrarily with threats and violence, so that from Rs. 1,35,000 for which I had insured, it got $\frac{1}{3}$ rd

remitted to the insurers, as it says, but which it really kept for itself, allowed me $\frac{2}{3}$ ds which come to Rs. 90,000, but from this amount they have taken $\frac{1}{3}$ rd so that I got only Rs. 60,000. In short, by a judgment, as unique as unjust, it wants to rob me of Rs. 75,000. M. Le Verrier, as chief, has behaved in a very feeble manner in this case; he has not at all represented that they were committing a great breach of the privileges of the nation, whereas all the affairs of the Europeans ought to be judged by the Europeans and in their mart but the government, and Siddi Masud Khan who is governor of the fortress and who is still more greedy than the governor (of the town) did not pay any heed to our representations. The English, the Dutch and the Portuguese also joined us in representing the injustice that was being done to us, but to no avail. M. Le Verrier has informed me that he has written to you about this matter. Everyone thinks here that a letter from Salabat Jang to the governor Safdar Khan and another to Siddi Masud Khan will produce a great effect. Therefore, Sir, I request you to obtain these two letters for me and send them to me or to M. Le Verrier. We have also informed M. de Leyrit and the Supreme Council about this affair. I hope they will do something. If justice is not rendered to us, the only alternative is to get the Muslim ships arrested wherever we meet them. In short, Sir, I am ruined if the kind God and you do not take a hand in it. Send me the two letters which I ask of you promptly. They will produce all the possible effect.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

Signed: Boucart.

C² 86, f. 190-194v^o.

Pondicherry, July 29, 1755.

Sir,

I received, all your letters of the 20th, 26th and 29th June with the documents which are attached to them and which you announce to me. I am replying to the various items of that of the 20th June, my letter of the 13th of the last month must have undoubtedly reassured you on the impressions which too long a silence on your part could have created in me. But disposed as I was to render you all the justice which is due to you, your first letters had all the result which you expected from them, and I am delighted to repeat it to you.

I have received several copies of your letter of the 2nd March to the Committee. I was very much satisfied with its contents.

I confess to you, Sir, with the same sincerity of my predecessors that the affairs of the Deccan, in my opinion deserve quite a special attention and according to me they require to be studied. They must be followed and handled, as you have done so far, to foresee, oppose and act opportunely and according to the circumstances. According to these principles, I did not hesitate to confirm to you all the powers which were given to you. I have even informed you that I expected from you alone the lights and information which are necessary to me in order to share with you the success of our future operations which ought to be considered beforehand and prepared as an ending capable of fixing the attention of whomsoever has heard about the present revolutions.

I was delighted to read the digression which you were forced to make in order to explain to me the diverse relationship which subsists between the Subhedar of the Deccan and the Raja of Mysore. I perceive all the disproportion between them, and I shall not subsequently hesitate to sacrifice the alliance of the latter if it could bring the slightest obstacle to our attachment to Salabat Jang. But politics demands that we should preserve the first without alienating the other. What happened under Dupleix can serve as an example. The King of Mysore, when he declared himself against us, gave rise to just grounds of anxiety for us, and it was one of these strokes reserved for the

good fortune of M. Dupleix that he could succeed in winning over this Raja to our side. Therefore I ought always, without compromising ourselves, to sustain the hope which the Raja of Mysore entertains to obtain Tiruchchirappalli and by this bait not only shall I preserve his good dispositions for the French, but I shall prevent him from becoming our opponent by doing my utmost to see that he does not return to the side of the English. Moreover, I think that the recent important services which you have rendered him ought to force him to respect the name of the French forever.

I admire, Sir, the sway you have won over the minds of the Mughals and the ascendancy which you now enjoy has something dazzling. If you needed this advantage to bring round the Nawab and the Raja of Mysore to the point you desired on an occasion when their interests appeared absolutely contrary, the satisfaction, which they both derived from the outcome of this negotiation, does honour to your judgment. I am delighted to see that the Raja of Mysore thanks you for the safety of his country and that the Nawab, whose claims were exorbitant, returns satisfied with fifty lakhs which the Raja of Mysore gave him and with the other advantages which you obtained for him from all the zamindars of Vijapur.

I think that it will be necessary for the Raja of Mysore to keep a watch over the movements which could be made after the monsoon by the corps of Maratha troops whom your presence forced to disappear.

I begin, Sir, to be very tranquil on all the attempts which our antagonists could make in your parts. We had to face the disadvantageous and even indecorous reports which they spread since the last changes which by themselves could not but strike the political genius of the Mughals, and certainly your last operations could not but contribute to destroy these impressions. I say more; our actual position in the Deccan appears to me solid and settled in all respects, and I consider it as an object capable of fixing the attention of the Minister and of the Company. We must absolutely derive for it advantages which, whatever they may be, preserve our reputation and at the same time respond to the prevailing system. This is, Sir, the great goal to be achieved and I would indeed wish to be in a position to act accordingly.

There is no doubt, Sir, that so long as we remain with Salabat Jang on the present footing, the jealousy of the English will definitely furnish them with the means to recuperate in another direction, and I predict that if they succeed in forcing us to quit this part, from this moment we shall become inferior to these rivals who, from that time onwards, will not have considerations which they today require of us.

In the meantime, Sir, always continue, as you are doing it, to preserve the friendship of the Nawab and of the Mughals and watch in concert over the projects of the Marathas.

The uncertainty about the success of the steps which could be taken with regard to Muhammad Ali for the revenues of the province of Arcot, combined with the just reflections which you make on this subject, requires that we should renounce this project.

M. Godeheu had good reasons, Sir, not to agree to the brilliant prospects of your descent into Mysore and his position forced him to take all sort of precautions in order not to be the first to give ground to proclaim that we are still far from this peace, so desirable, of which he had just laid the foundations. I am convinced that he as well as the Minister and the Company will be pleasantly surprised at the happy outcome of this operation. If, as you point it out, Salabat Jang still decides to go and pay next year a second visit to the Raja of Mysore, we shall then see what conduct to adopt so as to conciliate our interests with those of the Nawab, but between now and then we shall perhaps receive news about the conduct which is actually adopted in Europe for all these affairs, and then we shall act.

I am delighted to read what you write to me in connection with Murarrao. Your project could only favour the view about which I have spoken to you in my letter of the 7th instant on the question of the means to be employed to put a stop to all these claims on us.

The news which you have received from Srikakulam is very promising and it would be for us a brilliant achievement, if the treasury of the Company could feel the effects of the success of Ibrahim Khan. Let us strive for it, Sir, if it is possible. You realise as well as I do that it is what the Company wishes and demands. It is also the only means to give a lie to the prejudiced persons who have conceived in all these

operations only a sterile glory which would be a burden (on the Company). I refer myself Sir, to what I have written to you before for the return of your advances. I have given orders to furnish you all that you would need from Machchalipatnam.

I shall be delighted to provide you with things necessary for life and as a good family father. I shall be careful to procure to you the share of supplies with which we are favoured (from Europe).

I shall send you some articles, stripes, gildings, etc.

Your Post-Scriptum of the 22nd at the end of your letter of the 20th June was indeed in its right place. I was delighted to read what the Emperor writes to Salabat Jang and I consider the account which he sends to him for the sums which the Raja of Mysore owes him as a proof the exactness which these people deserve in their writings. Besides, I think that a simple letter of credit for hundred lakhs would be preferable to such exorbitant claims. Yet, I noticed that there was an error of ten to twelve crores in the total sums.

I request you to follow exactly the movements of the Emperor and seek information as accurately as possible of his future plans. If he came into the Deccan, I foresee how this event could have happy consequences for us.

I percieve all the importance of the parallel which you retrace between the Nawab and the Raja of Mysore. I am fully of your opinion as you have seen at the commencement of this letter.

M. Duplan will bring with him all the necessary stationery. In the meantime ask from Machchalipatnam what you could need.

I now reply, Sir, to your letter of the 26th of the last month. I have several times read its detail with much satisfaction and I feel very sincerely that your earlier operations interest me as much as the present ones. Rest well assured, Sir, that no one renders you greater justice than I. I know the importance of the post which you occupy. The cares and the anxieties are inseparable from it, I agree, but at the same time, your successes, your good fortune and above everything the conduct you have adopted so far have created for you a reputation which compensates you much.

You persevere in soliciting me for my confidence, it is granted to you. Sir, in every respect, and founded as it is on sentiments of a true esteem, I shall be delighted to have frequent occasions to give you proofs of it. You can even count that if a fresh testimony on my part to the Minister and the Company can enhance the opinion which they have of your services, you will receive the most tangible marks of it.

I thank you, Sir, for your action with respect to the two governors of Surat at the solicitation of Messrs. Le Verrier and Boucard. I wish that these gentlemen, especially the latter derive, from the letters of Salabat Jang of Shah Nawaz Khan and of yours to these two governors, all the advantage they expect from them. But I doubt it; these noblemen are too far off from these governors.

The present circumstances do not permit us, Sir to rehoist our flag at Surat. It is the Company itself which in the past has brought this issue to this state. Therefore, we must renounce this idea. We still owe sufficiently large sums in these parts.

I am not surprised at what you write to me on the subject of Muzaffar Khan. I know him since a long time.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

P. S.

The English continue to make serious preparations of war, and it is reported that they put into reserve the funds which they draw from the province. This conduct urges me to repeat to you all that I have written in my letter of the 7th instant of which you have herewith the triplicate.

C² 86, f. 131-142.

Hyderabad, July 14, 1755.

Sir,

The obliging letter you wrote to me on the 13th June reached me on the 2nd July, two days before my arrival at Hyderabad. The letter reminded me of this happy time when M. Dupleix wrote to me less as a superior than as a friend, and employed with me such a fascinating tone which captivates hearts and disposes it as he likes. Therefore, receive, Sir, the homage of mine as a possession which belongs to you in the form of a conquest. As for my gratitude, I owe you its tribute for more than one reason. But the obliging manner in which you facilitate the repayment of my advances drives it to despair. Services on your part, thanks on mine, will thus be the first stage of my correspondence with you. A happy beginning for my personal good, but at the same time, a happy portent of the success which will certainly result for the general benefit of the reciprocal confidence which sentiments establish between us. No, Sir, assured of yours, I cannot put bounds to mine. With such happy dispositions, could we miss the aim which we propose to each other unless invincible obstacles intervene and bar the road to our success ?

The point is to give the last touch to the edifice of our aggrandisement in India. Nothing, Sir, interests me so much, I assure you, as to see that the work is crowned under your administration. More than one motive induces me to desire that you could turn to account the state of uncertainty in which the last arrangements have placed the affairs of the province of Arcot. As for those with which I am entrusted, they still preserve all their lustre and will preserve it, I hope, in spite of the efforts of our enemies. If too much condescension for a nation eternally jealous of the prosperity of does not stand in the way, the French are established, after all, without exaggeration, in the centre of the Deccan with as much honour and security as in the centre of France. However, I ought not to conceal from you the strong impression which is created by the news which the English ceaselessly spread: their King, they say, has sent them warships and troops with orders to punish the French and their supporters, etc. These talks might appear only frivolous in Europe, but they are of conse-

quence in this country, and those who spread it do not do so without malice. The glory of the King, the honour of the nation, our credit depend on them vis-a-vis the Muslims and even the whole Mughal Empire; and the commerce of the Company would infallibly follow the fate of its credit if concerted measures did not prevent its ruin.

The favourable result which you expect from time to honourably come out of all the affairs, which are in abeyance, depends, Sir, on the manner in which they (the authorities in France) will seize the last arrangements made in India. If the retrocessions in question take place, we ought to expect to see our glory change into infamy and the finest perspective become a hideous spectacle. I request you to see what I have said to M. Le Godeheu in my letters of the 23rd October and the 12th November, etc. They as well as many others have remained unanswered, I do not know why. You will see in that of the 29th November a system which I proposed to him to come out of all the affairs with less disgrace by preventing the blow, if unfortunately state reasons, which I could not fathom, obliged us to abandon everything forever.

During the last negotiations, I wrote to M. Le Godeheu and represented to him that as the rank which I held in the Deccan related more to the man of the nation appointed for its interests than to a simple infantry officer charged to command a detachment; that besides, as the affairs of the Deccan with which I am intrusted have become the base of all those of the nation in India, it was advisable, it was even necessary, that I should be informed of the treaty in full and that I should know the truth to be in a position to refute the false and dishonourable imputations with which the Nawab's Court has resounded and with which it was unfortunately only too much imbued. M. Le Godeheu kindly replied to me that he would communicate to me the treaty. Apparently he changed his mind, I do not know why, and communicated to me only a few particulars, unimportant with respect to all that this treaty contains. As I then noticed that the sanctuary of the secret was closed for me, I no more insisted and came to know from the public report that this treaty contained articles which horribly farnished the lustre of the nation and tended to nothing less than degrade it completely. But the English, quite glorified with this triumph, could they have resisted

the temptation to make it public and take advantage of it? In order not to leave anyone in the dark about it. They got it translated. The Nawab's Court received it two months ago, I do not know by what channel, translated into Persian. But it was communicated to me only on the eve of our entry into Hyderabad. Since then several sessions were held in which the affairs of Arcot were hotly discussed. Here is the result.

This treaty produced two quite different effects in the Darbar. It considers first of all the authority which the English usurp in the country, as an outrage which deserves all its indignation. But at the same time it considers the case with which the French acquiesced in it as a weakness and a forced subordination which turns to our shame by belying the idea which they had formed of our nation.

In the second place, the Mughals foresee with some sort of satisfaction through this treaty the hope to recover the concessions which they have bestowed on the Company. For, from the article which states that the English will make a choice between 'Machchalipatnam and Divy', they conclude that if ever it takes place, the French not having any more right to cede their territory to the English than the English to receive it from the French, they can take a suitable decision to stop this audacity and recover the territory which they had bestowed on the French to the exclusion of any other European nation, only as a token of gratitude and reward. Could I tell you to what point still revolts them the idea of seeing a part of these concessions pass into the hands of the English, concessions made as a pure gift by the Nawab, confirmed by the Emperor, his master, in recognition of services which the nation rendered to that of the Mughals and particularly to Salabat Jang. If it comes to that, that will be, let us have no doubt about it; the signal for a war of which we could not be silent spectators without dishonouring ourselves and renouncing all possessions in India. That is what I amply demonstrated in my letters to M. Le Godeheu.

If reasons which they cannot foresee prevented them from taking this early decision, they would be forced to take quite the contrary, of which the ruin of the French in India would be the necessary consequence. They would send to Muhammad Ali Khan the letters of

appointment of the government of the province of Arcot and would bind themselves in friendship with the English on whom they know Muhammad Ali Khan depends as a slave. They would even placate them in order to procure the revenues of this province through their intermediary. For, the Darbar is aware of the arrangements which the English have made with Muhammad Ali Khan. It knows that the latter, in return for an honest subsistence for him and his family, is forced to abandon to them the collection and administration of the revenues of the Carnatic. This is the motive which will urge the Nawab to be attached to them if he cannot force them to return to their duty.

But they proposed a third alternative, in connection with the first one, that is to say, that of punishing Muhammad Ali Khan and humiliating the English. They will bind themselves in friendship with Balajirao who will seize the opportunity with all the greater pleasure as he will think of assuring for himself thereby the Chauthai of this province. Here I find my bearings, and I ask you, Sir, if unfortunately the scene had such a dreadful issue, what strange role should I have to play after playing such a glorious roll for the nation? Should I be reduced to destroy with my own hands an edifice which it has cost me so much to raise? You will admit, Sir, that it cannot be proposed to me with propriety and still less require it of me.

Besides, Sir, (God forbid it) if we are destined to be witnesses of such a humiliating catastrophe, while waiting for this moment, I shall do all that depends on me to support you faithfully in all the operations which you will judge proper for the benefit of the affairs of the State. But it appears to me that in order not to do anything which does not fit in with the intentions of the Minister of the Company and yours, it is proper that I should be informed of it.

The bases, which M. Le Godheheu proposed to form, are not at all suitable for trade. You can see in my correspondence all my representations to him on this subject. All I could say to you on this matter and the affairs in general of which I had knowledge so far, would only be repetitions of what I have written to M. Le Godeheu and of which you have undoubtedly taken cognizance.

You must have found in my previous letters a reply to the majority of the items of yours. Therefore, it remains for me to speak to you in this one only about some points which deserve your attention.

Nothing is certainly better than the mark of deference which Balajirao has shown you by sending you the *sarpech*. I am very much delighted with this attention on his part. But since it is decided that I must speak to you frankly, you would not take it amiss that I tell you that you must be on your guard against the usually captious proposals of this cunning and ambitious man. His Waquil who, in his talks and proceedings regulates himself only by the political interests of his master *vis-a-vis* the Mughals, might indeed try to commit you against your intentions to promises the execution of which would destroy the equilibrium which I maintain between these two Mughal and Maratha powers. M. Dupleix, who knew all the danger of these somewhat dangerous negotiations at such a great distance, referred them to me and charged me to treat them according to the knowledge which experience had furnished me. Besides, Sir, you will not do me Justice if you took my reflection as advice. It is a pint in the labyrinth of which I disclose to you the shifts after practicing them.

I send you attached herewith the copy of a letter which I have received from Balajirao. He asks me to help him in an undertaking which he proposes against the Angre after the rains. I request you, Sir, to give me full power to this effect to act according to the circumstances. It might appear to you that by giving to Balajirao this help which he demands, the French would be simultaneously attached to the two opposite parties.

But the last treaty of peace between the Mughals and Balajirao ought to assure you and remove this fear. There is no risk in lending our help, there is much to be gained from the negotiations and in this affair as in any other I shall never lose sight of the honour of the nation and the interests of the Company; my own honour is very much concerned in it.

They talk here as a very certain news of the visit of M. de Noronha to Balajirao and to Muzaffar Khan Jang. Nothing can surprise me more. He is going, they say, to the one in the name of the Viceroy of Goa and to the other to negotiate some affairs for the nation, and

that is founded they add, on letters which he is said to have received from me. I confess to you, Sir, it is an inexplicable enigma for me. I only see broadly that this visit and these airs of mystery can create in every respect nothing but a very bad effect. What he could negotiate with Muzaffar Khan, who has fallen into ignominy and contempt, cannot give offence to any one. But it could not indeed be the same with his negotiations with Balajirao. If this is undertaken by your order, I think that you would have informed me of it. Convinced that you have no share in it, I am going to write to this gentleman to retrace his steps.

You have, Sir in my correspondence with M. Le Godeheu the statement of the arrangements which I have made in the four provinces given as a security. It requires a moment's attention on your part: it is all what time and circumstances permitted me to do. The revolution which took place when we took possession of this government made me fear that conflagration was ill extinguished and that a fresh agitation might stir up the people. It was, therefore, necessary to placate them to bring them round. I succeeded in it with an unexpected good luck in the uncertainty in which I was. When I arrived in these provinces, I accepted the offers which M. de la Selle made me of his services for being employed and which made him gladly renounce his destination for Bengal where he was going against his will. When my alarms were dissipated and when I saw success surpass my hopes, I would have indeed wished not to have taken any engagement with him. However, I kept my word with him. I established him as collector of the district of Rajahmundry and prescribed to him the same plan of conduct which I had traced for myself in the critical times to be able to draw from these provinces the subsistence of the army. It consisted principally in placating the zamindars, a system from which we cannot deviate until we receive definitive news from Europe, especially in the case of Vijay Ram Raja. M. de la Selle followed it so far. But since a month he is deluging me with his projects. He has taken into his head to administer all these districts all alone: an idle fancy which appears to him grand in theory, but which would have infallibly unfortunate consequences for him and for us. The arrangements made form a whole so well knit considering the circumstances that the slightest change would disturb their harmony.

This project of M. de la Selle would involve us into wars with the zamindars and deprive us of the revenues of these districts, the only resource for the maintenance of the army, and besides, could I make this change without failing in my engagements made in writing for 3 years ? I request you, Sir, to extricate me from this step and spare me volumes of letters which, as you will realise, do not lead to anything. You could write to him two words pretty much in these terms.

"I have seen the arrangements M. de Bussy has made in the 4 districts under mortgage, given for the subsistence of the army in the service of Salabat Jang. I approve them and find them in keeping with my intentions, those of the Minister and the Company. You will follow them as well as all that M. de Bussy might do in the district in which you are placed as long as you will remain in it. The Circars must be governed according to the usages of the country and in the name of Salabat Jang until the Minister and the Company make their choice."

If he does not take the thing in the right spirit, he will not be the only enemy which the acquisition of these districts will have procured me. When I had obtained them, many persons, I do not know from what idea, set their hearts upon a mighty and rapid fortune. Their hope, frustrated by the manner in which I explained myself and behaved myself, they did not fail to turn them into my enemies. Add to these the vile envious persons whom the uninterrupted successes of my expeditions have brought on me and those jealous of a fortune which transformed me from mediocrity to a life of comfort, and which, whatever they might think of it, is the fruit of the gratitude of a prince who several times owed his life and fortune to me, and you will realise. Sir, how much unpleasantness I have suffered and I still suffer every day. The affection of M. Dupleix, Sir, alleviated its bitterness ; I venture to imagine that yours will entirely compensate me for it.

Your recommendations, Sir, are orders which I shall always endeavour to execute. M. de la Molhe will feel its effects inasmuch as it will depend upon me.

While waiting for decisions which keep us into perplexity, you can, Sir, set your mind at rest on the affairs of the Deccan with which I am entrusted. Not only shall I maintain the things in the equilibrium

in which they are today, as you recommend it to me, but the ascendancy and the reputation which I enjoy in the Deccan, I could say in the Mughal Empire, will always leave me free to turn the scale in our favour.

M.L'Abbé de Montmellan is extremely sensible of the obliging manner in which you have replied to the item which concerns his salary. I vouch for the depth and ardour of his gratitude. M. Le Marquis de Conflans and his family will also feel the difference from your language to that of M. Le Godeheu and will surely express to you their gratitude for you. This family, respectable by itself, moreover, deserves much attention because of the consideration and even the credit which it enjoys at the Court and in the capital.

I shall be delighted to see M. Law come back with the troops which you promise me, but I do fear that his health will not permit him to participate again in such long fatigues.

Your reflection on the number of officers I should have when they all would be reassembled is very just. I cannot avoid sending back at least a number in proportion to that of the soldiers, who are unable to undertake a fresh campaign and whom I expect to send back.

It would be desirable that the Emperor should arrive in the Deccan. This event can only be advantageous to the nation. The respect, which I venture to say I enjoy at this Court, would surely enable me to crown my mission gloriously.

The confidence which you require of me, Sir, would not be complete if, after talking to you about the affairs which concern the general welfare, I left you in the dark about those which concern my personal welfare. I am therefore, going to pour out unreservedly my heart into yours.

You have perhaps known, Sir, that three months after my departure from Pondicherry, I sent to M. Dupleix a large sum to be sent to France to serve to re-establish my family, that when, hardly had I recovered from a serious illness which had forced me to go to Mach-chalipatnam, I returned to the Deccan, I left as a deposit with M. de Moracin a sum of two hundred thousand rupees as a resource which

I reserved for myself and to which I ardently requested him not to touch under any pretext. After taking these arrangements, I raised no difficulties ; I even esteemed it a pleasure and a duty to employ the rest of my fortune, which I carried with me, for supporting the State affairs, which constitutes a sum which I reclaim and of which you have the kindness to assign to me the payment from the revenues of Condavir. The accounts in this respect have all been drawn up and you can easily give it the usual and prevailing form of receipts.

M. Dupleix did not send to France the sum which I had remitted to him for this purpose. For the urgent needs of the Company, M. de Moracin paid thirty-two thousand gold pagodas in the treasury from the deposit which I had confided to him.

As for the sum which M. Dupleix employed. I know that I can only address to him for its repayment, and on this subject my attitude is such that if, against all justice, he was ruined, I shall esteem it a very great pleasure to share my means and his poverty with him.

As regards the sum paid into the treasury of Machchlipatnam, I asked for its repayment from M. Le Godeheu or a bill of exchange on the Company ; he replied to me that he needed accounts supported with documents. I do not know that in order to demand back the money lent, other documents than the acknowledgement and the bond of the borrower were necessary. It is true that M. Moracin had forgotten to send him the acknowledgement of his Council of which I send you a copy with the extracts of the letters. As this sum has no connection with the present affairs. I hope that you would indeed add to the kindness which you have already had, that of obtaining for me a bill of exchange on the Company addressed to M. Marion du Mersan and in case of absence or death of the said gentleman, addressed to or else to send me the bill of exchange to my order ; I shall send it to France. I dare not charge you with this sum in order to get it cashed by your proxies in France. As far as I am concerned, it would be missing your kindness. It will be the first money which I could have sent to France since fortune has so well served me. While making the last arrangements with M. de Moracin in connection with this deposit, I requested him to remit to you the sum of Rs. 50,000 without interest in case you needed it for your

trade. I shall practise usury with you, for, the pleasure of hearing that you have accepted this sum will pay me in advance very big interest, and it is on this condition alone that I expect to invest my money with you.

To close this letter, I was waiting to receive one from the Emperor. I am sending it to you in the original. The Nawab sends your a sarpech and suitable titles. The whole is carried by a mansabdar.

I request you, Sir, not to be surprised at all if I cannot write to you for some days. I am in a sort of prostration due to continuous mental tension, and particularly caused by the affairs which the separation of the army has brought on me. I need a little rest. Therefore, after the dispatch of this letter I am going to spend a few weeks in a country house which a Mughal nobleman, a friend of mine, offers me to relieve me of all the cares, while waiting for the arrival of our principal Zamindar-farmers whom I have sent for to terminate the accounts of this year. We would have to take arrangements and send expeditions in the four Circars to put down the same Zamindars who are tyrannising the people a little. But that can be executed only when the Company has pronounced its decision; and unless I am forced to do it, I shall content myself with obtaining the subsistence of this army.

Sir, as I give all my attention to diminish the expenses, I judge that during the monsoon-quarters the pay of the officers of this army can be reduced to half. That is why if you approve this system, I request to put in your letter an item in reply to this question which I could draft somewhat in these terms.

"I consider, Sir, that you could reduce the pay of the officers of your army to half during the monsoon-quarters. All my attention and yours must aim at economy and at diminishing the expenses in order to be able to support the affairs with the sole revenues of the districts given by Salabat Jang for the maintenance of your troops, and to see that it does not cost anything to the Company on this object."

At the time of closing my letter, Sir, I received the packets from M. de Naronha in which I found the duplicate of yours of the 29th April and one of the 6th May which announces to me, the arrival

M. de Naronha. What you write to me, Sir, about his visit and what he himself writes to me, surprises me more and more. I extract a few items from his letter in which I see only extravagance, I might even say falsehood. I shall take good care not to deliver to the Nawab the letter which you write to him and which he has sent me. As for those which you tell me you have given to him for various Mughal noblemen, apparently he has made use of them. Besides, I hasten to write to him not to continue his route further, and I send you a copy of my letter. I request you to write to him accordingly at Shirpy where, he says, he will await my reply. This visit will create the worst effect in all respects.

¶ I have the honour to remain, etc.

Translation of a letter from Balajirao to Monsieur de Bussy.

I hope this letter reaches the Nawab Humdet Elmoulouk¹, etc.

I am in receipt of your letter of which each word smacks of friendship, and of which every line has given me inexpressible pleasure. I have already replied to all its contents. This one is therefore, to express to you my joy on your successful campaign. I knew that you, had written and done your best to induce Jagdevchaja and Jaguedevchaja the Dalwai to settle with the Nawab Salabat Jang before entering the territory of this Zamindar, and that you wanted thereby to spare him many losses, but that out of vanity, the Dalwai did not wish to comply and that afterwards when he learnt that my army commanded by Madhoba would enter Mysore to collect from this Zamindar a few sums which are due to me, he wished that Salabat Jang should enter it in the hope that Madhoba would take another route, that afterwards he committed impertinances which urged you to treat him a little harshly and obliged you to bring him to his senses.

I also learnt that the Nawab had acknowledged the pains you had taken by presenting you with a catari, a sabre and a ring. All this news gave me a pleasure which cannot be described, and I do see that a great advantage is derived from your forces and alliance and that Salabat Jang ought every instant to thank the Lord for having

1. Umdal Mulk.

you as a friend. Let God always continue his favours to you and shower prosperities on you.

I now communicate to you what concerns me. I had sent Madhoba to enter Mysore and receive from all the Zamindars of Vijapur the Chauthai and the Sardeshmukhi. He could not completely fulfil his mission and has returned to Poona. I had also sent an army against Tulaji Angre from whom I seized 7 forts in a very short time. My plan was and still is to destroy these robbers entirely and seize their territory, but bad weather forced me to delay this expedition which will take place after the rains. As in the treaty of peace which we signed together, we agreed to consider the friends and the enemies of one another as ours, it leads me to hope that you would indeed help me in the expedition which I propose to undertake for the complete destruction of Angre whose name, as I wish, should not survive; this will augment and strengthen the bonds of our friendship. I await your reply. Let me often hear from you; it will give me real pleasure.

C² 86, f. 142-149v^o.

Hyderabad, July 23, 1755.

Sir,

The affairs follow each other too closely to lose sight of them for a single moment. They could suffer from the plan of campaign of which I informed you by my previous letters, and my intention is to sacrifice to them even my rest and all my pleasures since I cannot combine them. It is a necessary consequence of the system of honour and probity which has so far regulated and will continue to regulate all my operations and my proceedings. It is not my habit to deviate from it, and I challenge the enemies of my glory to catch me napping. I, therefore, confess to you, Sir, that I simply laugh at the indecent remarks they make and which they will still make very probably on my account. I pity them and leave them to lament on all their annoyance. One is very strong and can assume this firm tone when one has behaved as I have always done. You will do me the favour to agree with it, I am sure about it, when all the basis of my operations and of my success will be known to you. It is to this judgement that I appeal against so many others begetted by malice or ignorance or by both at the same time. A series of so many known facts and so much hidden politics, which have led our affairs to a point which surprises me myself, is beyond the understanding of my enemies and leaves them beside themselves with rage. Could their jealousy forgive a simple infantry officer like me for having been the instrument of it and for having risen thereby above this mediocrity in which they have formerly seen him. I have perhaps already said only too much about it. Please, Sir, forgive this transport of my ardour. I leave this tirade here and revert to the affairs, that is what is important for us.

On the information which I have received, I expect to meet here in 15 days' time the men with whom I have to deal for the Circar of Rajahmundry to confirm the arrangements taken with them last year and settle their account. On this point as on everything which concerns my mission, you can rely on the enlightened zeal which guides me. The honour, the glory, the interest of the nation will always be the real objects of it, and bad luck for such interesting objects if the senseless speculations, of my enemies were capable of making

the slightest impression on your mind. I dare advance it in the secrecy of the cabinet ; there is only myself who can successfully conduct, till we receive the final decision of our Court and our Company, all that has some direct or distant relation to the Court of the Deccan and even to that of Delhi. Some superficial genius, little accustomed to investigate things, might accuse me of presumptuousness, but I have no reason to fear this reproach on your part. You know, you, Sir, what a well established reputation can achieve in this country. That which I enjoy in the Deccan and in the whole Mughal Empire puts the balance in my hand and leaves me free to turn it at my sweet will. It is a good fortune of which I know the price because it enables me to serve my country especially in the circumstances in which its interests are in peril. So let the jealous think of it all as they like, the time which I spend in this country is a real sacrifice which I am making for the public welfare ; my fortune and my glory have no longer to gain anything in it ; my constitution and my health have everything to lose in it. I am always straging, but I come back.

I wrote to you in my previous dispatches that I cannot bring about any change in the arrangements taken in the districts under mortgage without risking to impair the harmony which we ought to maintain in our affairs in general at least till we receive the entire decision which we expect from Europe. I have said it in vain to M. de la Selle, he does not stop tormenting me ; nothing appears to him so grand as his projects ; he sees nothing but that ; he speaks to me only about them. I realise that he would find them more suitable to his rank which he always trumpets, if he found in it prerogatives which could flatter his self-love. I respect his rank, and my intention was not to run him down, but must we renounce the general welfare in order to indulge in frivolities, change a system on which depends the tranquility of these districts, and as a necessary consequence the the tranquility of these districts, and as a necessary consequence the that. To please him, we must follow his ideas quite absurd as they are, especially, in what concerns Vijay Ram Raja. This Vijay Ram Raja whom all the governors who had preceeded us in these provinces could not bring to his senses and whom my reputation alone could bring to a point of submission which he never had for any one ; he would have perhaps been already alienated if fear, which my reputation

inspires in him, did not check him. I request you therefore, to write again to M. de la Selle that if he does not think that the post, such as it is, does not suit his rank and his views, nothing prevents him from quitting it, that if he wants to keep it, he must fall in punctually with the plan and the instructions which I have left for him to follow. We cannot, once again, deviate from it without any danger. I do realise that, that will turn him into an enemy of mine, but I can sacrifice all my pleasures to my duties. Have I a more important one to perform than that of preserving the honour and the interests of the nation to which I belong? My own honour is too much at stake in it to neglect even a minutiae of it.

You have permitted me, Sir, to speak to you with an open heart. Must I fear abusing this privilege or rather must I not fear to displease you if I put limits to it when it is a question of the interest and the honour of the nation? I, therefore, do not hesitate to tell you with the frankness which you demand, that I swallowed on the part of the Nawab (who came to pay me a visit) a kind of joke which I took as a tactful reproach in connection with the sarpech, which he knew that the fauzdar of Cadapet¹ had sent you and which you received (he said to me) with the gun-salute. These magnificent demonstrations of honour rendered, perhaps even demanded, had their day and could have advantages when we had access only to the farmers to whom they were rendered. But since we have such a close access to their master and since we have so much share in his favour, I could even say, in his authority, these farmers whom the Europeans call Nawab, deem it a point of honour that we should still receive them and everything that comes from them, as they received us formerly. This is the tone which I have assumed with them, I who have not the honour to be the Chief of the nation. To behave with them otherwise, would be to degrade the rank which we hold in the country with a nation which reckons the etiquette of good manners among maiden virtues. That's the misery, I admit it. But long back it has been said, we must do as the Romans do. The Nawab asked in this connection; what will the Governor do for me if he fires a gun for the sarpech of one my servants? Moreover,

1. Cuddapah.

Sir, I receive almost every month very submissive letters from this very Pathan of Cadapet or Carpet.

Thrice Balajirao was threatened, with a great storm as I have pointed it out to you, and thrice he could dissipate it. This confederation of the Marathas against him will not materialize, to judge it by everything which I hear on this subject, although there is always talk about it. The return of Holkar and Raghoba (this latter is brother of Balajirao) from the province of Malwa confirms me in the idea that everything will vanish in smoke, in which case Murarrao will have him infallibly at his heels. Then the latter could need me. You already know at what price I shall serve him with his antagonist, Balajirao. And this is, Sir, the use I have always made of my credit which I owe to my reputation: to turn to account all the circumstances for the benefit of the state affairs; that is all my ambition. It must be a very favourable one to our interests in order to offer to this Maratha chief, I mean Balajirao, the seccour which he solicits for his expedition against the Angres. Moreover I shall seize the occasion, as is reasonable, only insomuch as this obligation would be compatible with those which we have with the Nawab. Besides, Sir, this affair is far from being a fait accompli, and I spoke to you about it in my letter only to know your views on this subject and receive your orders which, however, must be subject to circumstances in case you approve it.

If the confederation does not materialise, we must continue to placate Balajirao by offering him succour which he is demanding (this is only a conjecture); we might require from him that he should leave Murarrao undisturbed and give the latter to understand that he owes us this tranquility and thereby press him to relax, I mean, to renounce everything or at least a part what is due to him. These are, Sir, arrangements which depend on circumstances. But as the scene is too shifting to establish a line of conduct; it is the circumstances which decide.

I am impatient to know the number of officers which you are going to send, either foreign or French, to send back from here a similar number. I request you to continue to give your orders to

Machchalipatnam to send the detachments in proportion as I demand them and not otherwise. Herewith is a copy of the letter which I am writing to M. de la Selle.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

P. S. :

I open this packet, which was closed, to acknowledge to you the receipt of the duplicates of your letters of the 18th June and the 1st July and that of the 7th instant. I shall send you, as you wish it, the entire translation of the letter which I have received from the Vazir. You have at present that which I received recently from the Emperor. I sent it to you in the original so that you should know the honourable manner in which this Sovereign writes to me. I have kept its translation.

I shall shortly reply, as you desire it, Sir, to your letter of the 7th of this month. In the meantime, you could, in my opinion, give to Balajirao on the Sardeshmukh and the Chauthai which he has demanded from you the reply which I have been sending him for the last four years that this province is not in our hands. You have seen in my letter to the Committee of the 2nd May the captious proposals which he made to me on this point and which I eluded. I have delivered your letter to the Nawab who is very delighted at it.

Copy of a letter from M. de Bussy to M. de la Selle.

Hyderabad, July 20, 1755.

Sir,

I have received your letters and recently that which you wrote to me on the 20th June. I do not undertake to reply to the details which it contains, which, quite diffused as they are, amount to the proposal pure and simple, which you make towards the end to obtain the administration of the three Circars for yourself alone and that the person whom I shall substitute for Ibrahim Khan should be at your orders according to your intentions. All that, Sir, is a pleasant chimera in which you wish to delight. The system of administration which is established to day will subsist for three years. I have given

my word for it ; the agreements were drawn up last year and M. Le Godeheu approved of them. M. de Leyrit approves and confirms the arrangements. You yourself know that I found farmers only on these conditions. No one wanted to take the lease of our lands because of the report which was then spread that we shortly intended to abandon them. I am grieved that it is not your liking. I shall take good care not to make any change in the district of Srikakulam. The reputation which Ibrahim Khan has established for himself there is alone worth an army. You do not have, from what it appears, a just idea of the itinerant army or of the functions which this *fourzdar* had to perform. He must bestir himself only to oppose the invasion of the outsiders. The private quarrels of the farmers with the zamindars do not come within his province ; they are settled amicably and without a war.

There is no doubt that my credit and my reputation in this country holds the districts in respect and subordination. All the zamindars and rajas expect everything from my credit with Salabat Jung ; honours, titles, etc., and it is to that, that I attribute the facility which I found in establishing order there last year. The double object which I then had in mind is to maintain peace with the zamindars and from this good understanding procure the subsistence of the troops. If it was necessary for that purpose, to maintain an army in the Circars and one in the Deccan, where could we obtain the necessary funds for its maintenance ? It would be better to abandon everything. It is not necessary to multiply the consels and advices which you give me ; besides the fact that I do not need them, I am posted with everything which forms the subject of your political reflections. I know the plans of Vijay Ram Raja. His most secret thoughts are not unknown to me & I am tranquil on this point, you can be so too.

What I can say to you is to be careful not to embitter the zamindars ; you will be responsible for the consequences ; you will answer for them. If trouble arose in the province over the susceptibilities of precedence, what could you advance for your justification ? As your rank and your titles place you above all these men, what is the use of ceaselessly drawing up parallel and a comparison between them and you ?

The situation in which you have been this year will be the same next year. It cannot change to the extent you contemplate it. If it pleases you, I shall be delighted at it; if not, I shall try to provide for it.

Now I come to your letter of the 5th July. Your protests to the Nawab on this point, are, in my opinion, not well founded. When in the field, for mine I must have 14 horses and various persons who are not necessary when the Nawab is stationary in a fortress. In spite of this excess the expense amounts only to Rs. 300 per month. According to the most inflated calculation yours cannot come to Rs. 100. How can such a small object occupy such a big place in your letter, and how can you ask so much for such a small thing? That is, besides, not worth the trouble.

As for what concerns the plan which you have proposed to me in this last letter, it is a sequence or rather a repetition. I have not changed my opinion. It is neither the greatest nor the least confidence (as you insinuate it) which guides me; the general welfare of the affairs is the compass which directs my steps. Your system of governing by yourself the three Circars is an idle fancy, I repeat it to you. You have all the necessary talents to profit by the revenues of some place where there would not be any zamindar. But in order to keep our equilibrium with all these restless people, experience, combined with authority and a great reputation which can impose, must come to the succour of all the natural talents.

In the uncertain state in which the Indian affairs are my attention is aimed at maintaining peace in these districts to obtain from it the subsistence of my army. A few thousands of pagodas which would be the fruit of some scrupulous investigations are of no consequence, according to me, at the cost of some troubles during which the revenues would remain in arrears. When the final replies from Europe arrive, these districts will be governed as it will be deemed proper, for, I have not made a pact to remain forever with Salabat Jang. Till then we must maintain peace unless the zamindars absolutely force us to make war with them. To what reproaches would we expose ourselves on the part of the Mughals as well as on the part

and failed in it ? Would not the Mughals be right in saying that our petulance lost for them and for us a territory which their tolerance could always preserve ? Would not our masters find it singular that on the eve of receiving their decision, we had given rise to troubles out of imprudence instead of hushing up even the minutest causes by all possible tactful measures ? Finally, if we were obliged to make it (war) with them to obtain our revenues, they could not at least reproach us anything. If we were forced to come to that, it would neither be you nor the troops which could be sent which would prevent the trouble. Only my presence in these districts, in which I am considered as a master, would terminate everything amicably, just as I did last year at a time critical in all respects. You see, Sir, as well as I, to what a conduct contrary to the one that I am adopting would expose us.

Thus, Sir, there is no longer room for deliberation. Letters, which mention Hyderabad Hasan Ali Khan and the principal zamindars, have left for the east to settle the old accounts with them. I am pledged with all these men, with the sahuikars, with the Mughal noblemen. Everything turns on me ; the Deccan, Arcot, the concessions, the Mughals, the Marathas and the English. At the Court of the Nawab, as a pivotal centre, come and converge all these ramifications. The thread which I have taken to mark my route so far and to support myself, or rather, the nation, if it happens to fail me, I cannot extricate myself out of the labyrinth. Thus, the farming of Hassan Ali Khan, which is for three years and that of Srikakulam for the same period, will hold good for the same period. Your position at Rajahmundry will not change at all. It is for you to decide if it pleases you.

All these disturbing observations with which your letters are full on the report of the harakaras of the Brahmins and of the Dubhashi whom a vile interest moves. Witnesses so unworthy of you and me, can they have anything to do with our deliberations to bring about some changes in the measures already undertaken ? No Sir, you are not charged with watching the private conduct of Hassan Ali Khan and others. I must receive the revenues ; this is all that I expect and demand from them. Take care, I repeat it to you, Sir, that because of your

titles and dignities with which these men are very little bothered, you do not create troubles; you will be responsible for the consequences. I very positively declare to you that you would remain charged with them in Asia and in Europe. You flaunt before me your rank of a councillor ceaselessly and on every occasion. Do you think that I do not know how to appraise it? This usual refrain in all the items of your letters cannot but become fastidious. If this eminent title is incompatible with the functions which you fulfil, it entirely rests with you to bring to it a remedy which depends on you alone.

I shall certainly not send you troops. The expedient which I follow does not demand it. Remember, once again that if for the administration of the districts we require an army and another in the Deccan with the Nawab, the only decision we have to take is to abscond.

I request you, Sir, to consider this letter as a final reply, and unanswerable, which resolves all doubts and problems contained in the systems, projects and plans about which you have amply talked to me etc.

C^o86, f. 149v^o-166v^o.

Hyderabad, August 1, 1755.

Sir,

I am going to reply, as I have promised it to you, to your letter of the 7th July. The reflections which you are kind enough to communicate to me, are prudent and judicious; nothing escapes your penetration. I have already informed you by the letter of which you have herewith the duplicate that the confederation of the Marathas against Balajirao could indeed vanish as there is every reason to believe it. It is not as I have said it to you, that it is abandoned completely, but today it appears to have another object than Balajirao's, which is not easy. I am told that the aim of Murarrao is to seek recognition as Senapati by the Court of Satara. This project perhaps have the same fate as so many others which are formed and which

vanish since their very inception. Nothing, for example, was better concerted apparently in all the details than the means which were employed four years ago to humble the Maratha power, that is to say, Balajirao. But too much jealousy and want of unity among the chiefs who form these leagues in this country are its usual stumbling block. Holkar and Raghoba, of whom I have spoken to you in my last letter, who are said to have been expelled from Hindustan by the Vazir who owes to them the post which he occupies, have stopped on the banks of the Narmada, that is to say, on the borders of the Deccan. Balajirao, informed of the intrigues of Murarrao and of his supporters, will try to crush him in his turn; and in case this Maratha power cannot be reduced, we must maintain divisions in it to derive advantage from the different parties. That of Murarrao was not so disquieting some years back. But the large sums which this brigand has collected by serving, in turn, the English, the French and others in the Carnatic, have enabled him to form (intrigues and cabals) like all his counterparts. We can, therefore, as I have just said it to you, derive advantage from these two chiefs. That (the party) of Balajirao offers more than one advantage. The principal would be to prevent the Marathas from appearing beyond the mountains which separate the Deccan from the Orissa Coast in which are situated our districts under mortgage and all the concessions of the Company. From that of Murarrao, we can obtain the renunciation of which you speak to me, but it is not easy to reconcile all these objects. Balajirao has declared to me as well as to Salabat Jang that, if we listened to the proposals of Murarrao, he would break the peace. In his turn, Murarrao has forbidden his Waquils from negotiating openly with the Darbar of the Nawab to cleverly avoid making with me engagements which might deprive him of what he claims is due to him, and making likewise with Salabat Jang those which might pledge him to return some fortresses which he has seized some years back. The Darbar of the Nawab is delighted to see that if these two Marathas could come to blows, it will profit by the circumstances. I shall see to it that I imitate it, if, however, they do not make their peace at the moment when their feelings are most excited, which eventuality often takes place. You can count, Sir, that I shall try and employ all the possible means to induce Murarrao to renounce what he claims

that the nation owes him. If I had been informed of it earlier, that is to say, six months ago, I would have perhaps succeeded more easily in the circumstances which then prevailed and which are no more the same today. M. Le Godeheu, was happy to write to me that Murarrao had crossed the passes and that he had got rid of him. This Governor did not have sufficient knowledge either of the situation or of the genius of the Asiatics in order to convince himself and decide what I replied to him on this point.

There is no doubt that the English, for whom we had such great obliging complaisance, from the departure of M. Le Godeheu till your arrival, availed themselves of the advantageous situation in which they were. Notwithstanding that, as a matter of course, they bother little about the observation of the treaties. The ascendancy which they have taken, the abundant funds which they collect, pride and even audacity of their proceedings which do not know any limites, this is enough to urge them to undertake anything. It would be a coup d'etat, and you would be rightly the restorer of the reputation of the nation in the province of Arcot, if by limiting the course of their prosperity, you re-established the equilibrium. The ideal thing for you would be to soon recover the superiority. I wish it and desire it as much for your personal glory as for the interests of the nation and of the Company in particular which are really dear to me. The only one, and unique, difficulty, as you point out, issues from the scarcity of funds without which the best concerted projects run the risk of failure. It is very flattering for me that by communicating to me your ideas on this point you partly admit me into such a noble plan. The approval and the praises which you so kindly bestow on my operations are all the more precious to me as they come from an enlightened judge to whom equivocal merit does not delude. The confidence which you show me is such a sure guarantee of the sincerity of your sentiments that it leads me to a complete and unreserved return which induces me to open the bottom of my heart, and convince you that all the success which I have had so far interest me only inasmuch as it is useful to the nation and as it could serve to favour your plans.

Allow me to place before you some incidents which preceded your arrival. They are most of them the necessary dark side of the picture of the Deccan which you already know.

When the decline of my health forced me to quit Salabat Jang in 1753, the low state of his finances as much as sickness was the motive for the resistance which M. Dupleix found in me to induce me to resume the charge of the affairs. I then found in them no resource, and the scarcity of money put the edifice, hardly raised, on the perilous slope of a certain ruin. That is what I then strongly represented M. Dupleix. The plan of the districts under mortgage given for the subsistence of the army had miscarried during my absence. As I had no more desire for, or project of fortune, moreover, exhausted by fatigues and sickness which put me on the brink of the grave, I was firm in my resolution. But at the news of the decline of our affairs in the Deccan the ruin of which would have entailed the ruin of those of Arcot and as a necessary consequence of all those of the Company and the disgrace of the nation, I submitted to the solicitations of M. Dupleix who, besides, furnished me all the facilities which depended on him, either by authorizing me to borrow or by assuring me the return of the advances I would make. I re-entered the Deccan and resumed my old plan; it was to secure from the districts the salary of my army, and in the choice, I decided on those which could completely cover the domains of the Company and render its trade more extensive and more free. These two important objects which I never lost out of sight perfectly reconciled with those which I obtained. In spite of the advantages, I had to find in my credit and in my own forces a resource which supplemented what was lacking in the produce of these districts from which we could collect only the half, the rest being absorbed by the payments on account which the previous governor had taken. Moreover, to add to the difficulty they (the authorities of Machchali-patnam) had multiplied the expenses at the time of the operation of taking possession to such a point that they alone completely exceeded the revenues. I obviated all these difficulties by taking loans from the Mughal noblemen and the sahu-kars with whom my credit and that of the nation were still in honour. But since the time the fatal blow was dealt to the credit of the French at Pondicherry, we must no more think of such expedients.

This blow was dealt (you certainly know it) by the denial of the loans of M. Dupleix to whom the debt was personally referred. You

are aware, Sir, that I am involved in it for a very big sum. The Asiatics, who are certainly very enlightened on their interests, have come to this simple and final conclusion. If the successor of M. Dupleix does not acknowledge either his loans or his treaties, the one who will follow will use the same language, from which circumstance they conclude that there is neither property nor security with the French. I have groaned under it and I think that we shall groan under it for a long time. This is the period of the refusal of all the bankers to enter into any deal with us. That is so true that I could not induce them to send 1,000 pagodas to a person; they alleged that they neither had nor wished to have any representative at Pondicherry, whilst they offer all sorts of credit to the English and to the Dutch. However, I have obtained a promise from the banker Nanadevy that he would leave his representative at Pondicherry. Could we not, Sir, with gentle words and without disbursing anything, maintain the confidence by acknowledging the debts which were contracted by this chief of a nation as personally known to those of India as M. Dupleix was. The hope, which might have been given to the creditors to satisfy them, would suffice to support the reputation and the credit. This digression necessary to the instructive frankness which you demand from me, appeared to me to be appropriate here.

After inducing the Nawab to set out on an expedition (I am speaking of that of 1753), taking his brothers out of the prison, changing the minister by substituting for him another more favourable to our interests and re-establishing the honour of the nation which had suffered a great loss of credit during my absence, after all these operations which I indicate only because they are amply detailed in the correspondence of this period, I took the Nawab to Hyderabad and proceeded to the Four Circars with my army to set order there. As I saw the debts multiply in these districts as in the army, I applied myself to disband both the troops of the Circars and mine in order to balance the revenues and the expenses. The statements which I sent you of the yield of these districts amount, all incidental expenses deducted, only to Rs. 18,40,501. I reduced my army to this assessment in order not to contract fresh debts. Once the Jamabandi or the amount of the revenues of the Four Circars fixed, as you have seen it, I had to wait not only for the end of the harvest but

even the sale of the grains to receive the first farthing, which process involves five or six months. My cares provided for everything. I have given you all the details in my letter of the 20th May. I am today mistaken in my calculations, as I then did not take into account the discount which the sahu-kars demand in order to send money to the army and the interest for that which they lend, which can amount in all to Rs. 70,000 or 80,000. That is not all; the arrears inevitably leave a gap which I am not a little embarrassed to fill. I shall not go to make a war with the zamindars who were trying to throw on the following year a balance of Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 10,000, more or less, according to the size of their rent. As they are more than fifty, the aggregate of these small sums is not a trifle. They will be all the more inclined to leave a balance as long as they can, as they expect a retrocession of these districts and a general abandonment, on our part, of all that we possess. The hope of soon changing domination makes them difficult to govern and slow to pay. To remedy these difficulties, I can say it, my personal credit is the only resource which remains for me, for, as for that of the nation, it is, as I have said it above, buried under the ruins.

Fortunately, the old debts are paid off according to the plan proposed on Condavir. A single year has sufficed for the result which the farmer of Srikakulam obtained in this Sarkar and of which I have informed you in my letter of the 20th June. I expected to pay off the 1,33,245 rupees remaining over from the old debts, as I have pointed out to you. But the accounts, the interests and the arrears, of which I have spoken to you above, have cramped me, and I shall find it difficult to meet them with what the good luck of Ibrahim Khan will procure me in excess of his jamabandi. There will, therefore, still remain Rs. 1,33,245 to be taken next year from Condavir for the settlement of the old debts, so that the Mughal noblemen and the sahu-kars are satisfied. This is, Sir, the situation of the affairs and of mine in this part. You see that it is too embarrassing. Whatever it may be, you can rest assured, Sir, that I shall employ all my credit and all the resources at my disposal, to support you and procure you what you desire.

As for my advances of which you have so kindly assinged the repayment on these very revenues of Condavir, and as it is by your generous equity that the return of these funds is assured to me, my intention is that you should use them according to the current needs to facilitate your operations. Allow me, Sir, to consider you as my procurer for this sum. I shall send you the documents and the necessary accounts in this connection. You already have sufficient to ascertain the debt. Therefore, remove it, Sir, from the hands of M. Morcin. Please assure its credit on the Company to the benefit of the person to whom I authorise it. I do not demand any interest so long as he employs this sum, provided that he assures me its repayment in Europe when I demand it. I have always considered myself as its (of the Company) child and I have never forgotten to serve it usefully. The campaigns of the Deccan have not been unfruitful for it, the domains it possesses today are a proof of it. Before my departure from Pondicherry, it possessed only Machchalipatnam and Divy. M. Dupleix wrote me since to manage to obtain any how (even on rent) the dependencies of Narsapur, Devracotta, Nizam-patnam, Goudour, Ademenai, etc., all places which round off our domains and which, moreover, appeared suitable for trade. I obtained them as a pure gift and received for it thanks all the more flattering as M. Dupleix did not expect that I would succeed in this objective. Since then it was judged that Condavir was a possession the acquisition of which became very advantageous to the Company. At the same time as M. Dupleix wrote to me to find out the intentions of Salabat Jang, on this point, he pointed out to me that he doubted that I would succeed in it. I then received from the Court of Delhi towards the end of 1752, the titles of Afthazari and May Marate. As it is a usage to assign to those who are raised to this rank a suitable jahgir, I spoke of Condavir which was offered to me personally. I had to offer the greatest opposition to the plan of the Nawab who wanted to send its paravana in my name. My zeal for the Company did not fail on this occasion. I constantly refused the favour which the Nawab wished to bestow on me, and it is the Company which is in possession of it. From all these details into which I have entered only to communicate to you the various advantages which the army of the Deccan has procured for the Company, it results that the

glory of the French name has not been its sole object, and if the nation or the Company had not acquired on the Coast of Orissa what it has lost on that of the Coromandel and if its advantages of the north did not balance those which our antagonists have in the south, I wonder in what state its affairs would be ? If at present the reputation of the French is maintained in spite of the reverses, the defeats and the revolution which has taken place in our government, if the nation, while losing its credit, has not totally fallen into ignominy, I can assert, without deluding myself, that it is to the army of the Deccan that one is indebted for it. I shall further add that this army has never cost any expense to the Company. It is very true that the revenues of Condavir have served for a year to discharge the debts with which it was burdened. But this succour came to it from a district which belonged to it in some sort and which the Company had never imagined it could obtain or possess, and which it owes only to the army. I, therefore, do not hesitate to say it, that I have fulfilled the whole scope of my mission which had two principal objects, one to obtain for the Company, that is to say, for the State, solid advantages, the other to establish and consolidate a prince in the heritage of his ancestors. It is the fruit of five years of incredible labours during which I sacrificed my youth, my repose and my health. May the Company enjoy the fruit of my labours ; it will be for me a delicate and deep satisfaction, and even if jealous envy saw to it that my services were misjudged and forgotten in Europe, one can never snatch away from me the glory of having usefully served my country.

Whatever be my credit and authority in the Deccan, it is not possible for me to support the north and the south. The impending retrocession of our districts under mortgage and even of the domains of the Company, which fact our antagonists publish everywhere, holds the people in suspense ; they have even begun to consider it as a certainty ; the zamindars (as I have said it above) have already taken advantage of it. It made such a strong impression in the beginning that I had difficulty in finding persons who would be ready to undertake farmings. All that I can do by putting to the test the friendship of the Mughal noblemen and turning to account my personal credit, is to support the affairs of the Deccan and of the Four Circars,

without the help of the other domains of the Company. It is not a small thing, and I can succeed in it only through great economy. What I wrote to you in my last letter on the question of the officers is a sequence of it. If Europe had pronounced on the affairs of India and if we knew how things stood, we could introduce a form of government in our districts, which by purging them of this pest of zamindars, would set us at ease at any rate. The Company which enjoys nearly 14 lakhs as revenue in the district of Machchalipatnam can find there and furnish you resources by reducing the expenses which can be aduced to you. It is certain and unquestionable that so long as there will be a French army with the Subhedar of the Deccan, the domains of the Company on the Coast of Orissa have nothing to fear on the part of the Mughals, Marathas, etc. The fact that our antagonists might undertake some military operation in this part, one can presume it only if there is an open war between the two nations. They are so convinced that they have no plausible reasons to thwart us in the possession of these domains, that they have made and are perhaps still making in Europe and very certainly in Asia all the inconceivable efforts to put the affairs of the Orissa Coast on a common footing with those of Arcot. I, therefore, say that by giving your orders at Machchalipatnam to dismiss some black troops, there would be a balance of several lakhs which would be of great help to you for the execution of your plans. There is nothing more judicious than the observation which you make not to reveal too readily our needs to Salabat Jang. The consequences of it might be dangerous; and even if we have not to fear that he might throw himself on the side of our rivals, it is advisable to conceal our problems, and on the contrary, affect that we can support ourselves and our allies.

You see, Sir, that I give amplest scope to candour and to sincerity. You required it and I was already naturally inclined to it.

I have now to talk to you a little at length on the question of the zamindar of Balapur, in whose favour you charge me, in your letter of the 1st of this month, to manage the protection of Salabat Jang. All these various zamindars, rajas or princes are all vassals of the Subhedar of the Deccan who calculates the protection which he

grants in proportion to the sum more or less considerable which is offered to him. On this incontestable principle, to claim that Salabat Jang and his Darbar, out of a heroism unknown to the Asiatics, would quit the advantages, which are bestowed on them on the one hand, to give with the other a protection from which they can derive only very little profit, is to live on chimeras.

If you judge it proper, Sir, to turn to account this Asiatic politics in the present circumstances, the occasion for it is favourable and can procure you some funds. The zamindars of Balapur offers or can offer, according to me, two lakhs to obtain this protection and protect himself against the claims of the Raja of Mysore. Receive them, or what you can get out of it, taking very good care that the Raja of Mysore is not informed of our plan to protect the zamindar of Balapur; otherwise the eight lakhs which he has promised in writing and which he owes to Salabat Jang, would not be paid. He would even stop the rescriptions given on the sahuks for about twenty lakhs, and thereby Salabat Jang would lose, because of us, all the fruit of the campaign, which circumstance would create a very bad effect. To obviate this disadvantage, it is easy for you to feign outwardly that you are referring this negotiation to me as being on the spot. If the tranquillity of the north and the affairs of the Marathas leave Salabat Jang free for his operations, he could proceed to the south after the rains. The Raja of Mysore will not then fail to renew the intrigue. The zamindar of Balapur, unable to placate his protectors by offers equivalent to those of the Raja of Mysore, will entreat you, however, not to abandon him. You would then give him to understand that you have no contact over the decisions of the Nawab. In my turn, I shall demand from the King of Mysore a sum of 6 to 7 lakhs cash for the Company, independently of what he owes to it. This plan of conduct with respect to the zamindar of Balapur is, I admit, little consistent with French generosity. That is why I am going to offer you another plan which will adapt itself better to it: it is to give the Mysorians to understand even now that you have been informed of the proposals which they have made to the Nawab on the question of the zamindar of Balapur, that the Waquil of the latter is actually with you to solicit your protection, that before taking your decision to grant it to him, you declare to them your intentions:

namely that not only will you employ all your influence with the Nawab, all your authority on me, to prevent him (Mysorian) from being put in possession of Balapur, but you will also seek the means to restore to this raja all that has been seized from him, unless you are paid without delay a considerable amount in partial payment of the sums which he had agreed with M. Dupleix and another sum such as M. de Bussy would demand to employ his forces and put him in possession of the said Balapur, that on these conditions, you will write to me to act and induce the Nawab to support his plans. Once this decision is accepted by the King of Mysore, you could reply to the Waquil of the zamindar of Balapur that this affair concerns Salabat Jang on whom we have no authority. We must, however, remember that if the campaign took place, as I have said it above, in the south, the Darbar of the Nawab who only seeks money, might indeed, without any other consideration, accept the proposals of the Mysorian; and this operation which we cannot stop and which would take place in spite of us, although with our help, would deprive us of the advantages which could be derived from it. But as the scene is very shifting in this country, there might perhaps occur so many incidents which cannot be foreseen but which would completely change the aspect of affairs and of which I shall keep you informed.

The English do not neglect, Sir, any means which can contribute to the advancement of their affairs. It is only at their suggestions let us have no doubt about it, that Muhammad Ali Khan sent two elephants to Holkar as to the man of the day whose credit could obtain for him from the Emperor, as he solicited him for it, not only the paravana of the government of Arcot, but also a division which would render this province completely independant of the Subhedar of the Deccan. But the Waquil, who was charged with carrying these presents and negotiating this affair, having come to know of the absence of Holkar from the Court of Delhi, has suspended his march and stopped here, or at least at the Caravan, that is to say, at the Hindu town where he awaits the orders of his master. The *sahukar* charged with the expense has informed me of this fact. You will perhaps not be sorry to know what this Holkar is and by what degrees he has rise : he began to appear on the scene in the capacity

of a simple chieftain of some cavalry in the service of Balajirao's father on a salary of Rs. 100. He only lacked opportunities to rise. There occurred one which he turned to account to make a reputation for himself which he has never belied. He was sent to Hindustan to help the Vazir Mansur Ali Khan and the Emperor to repulse the Pathans. His success covered him with glory and crowed him with riches. He was very much attached to the family of Nizam-ul-Mulk, to Ghazi-ud-din Khan, eldest brother of Salabat Jang. It was he who brought him against the latter to Aurangabad where he died before fulfilling his object. Holkar then returned to Hindustan laden with the riches of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the father, which he faithfully returned to the son, and from that time he considered this young prince as his ward. Before, his departure from Aurangabad, Salabat Jang and I, had taken the precaution to get a promise from him on an oath that he would not bring Ghazi-ud-din Khan, junior, against Salabat Jang. He has been faithful to his promise and to his oath. I can even say in his praise that he has been on every occasion an admirable prodigy of honesty in a country where it is hardly known. On his return to Delhi he was not a little embarrassed. On the one hand, his oath bound him, on the other, the ambition of young Ghazi-ud-din Khan who was second to none in that of his father, urged him to break it and pressed him all the more vigorously to accompany him to the Deccan as he had then quarrelled with the Emperor. Nevertheless Holkar consistently resisted it because of the word he had given. But in order to compensate this prince for the claims which he induced him to abandon, he employed all sorts of intrigues and manoeuvres to obtain for him the post of the Vazir by outsing Kanekanom, maternal uncle of young Ghazi-ud-din Khan, who had succeeded Mansur Ali Khan. When he met with invincible resistance on the part of the Emperor, the proud Holkar would not accept a failure. After vainly exhausting the usual means of politics, he had recourse to those of force; he fomented the revolution of which you have the detail in my correspondence. He plundered the camp of the Emperor Ahmad Shah. This unfortunate prince sought in vain his safety in flight. Holkar chased him to Delhi where he accomplished the revolution. Ahmad Shah had his eyes put out and Alamgir, the reigning Emperor was put in his place. Ghazi-ud-din

Khan had the post of the Vazir and has preserved it since. It was quite natural that his gratitude should preserve for Holkar all the authority with which he had been first invested. But in Asia he who says gratitude, utters an empty word, and this virtue is less practised in this country than in any other, Ghazi-ud-din Khan manoeuvred so well by his intrigues that he expelled Holkar, his benefactor. He arrived, as I said it, on the banks of the Narmada with Raghoba, brother of Balajirao, whom the latter had associated with Holkar. This is, Sir, what the English and Muhammad Ali Khan undoubtedly did not know when they decided to approach Holkar to succeed in their ends, ends, besides, which they will not lose out of sight. But I shall myself not lose sight of all their conspiracies. I shall put all the obstacles which will depend on me, and shall give you an exact account of all that I could learn and do on this point.

Although this letter is already sufficiently long, allow me to still add a word on Balajirao and Murarrao.

You have with you the Waquils of both. To that of Balajirao, who claims the Chauthai and the Sardeshmukhi of the province of Arcot, you could give him to understand that you know all the proceedings and entreaties which Murarrao is making to the Nawab and to the French General to induce them to support his plans which he has formed against his master, that you know and approve the alliance which has been existing for the last three years between the French and Balajirao, that in these circumstances when they are so much solicited to declare themselves against him, he ought not to make demands of which he sufficiently knows the injustice, since the French possess only a very little territory in this province, that when the King of France and England have settled the claims, he shall ask from the party, to which the province will belong, the dues which he has the right to demand.

To the Waquil of Murarrao, you should declare that you are a little surprised at the excessive demands, accompanied with threats, made to you by this master in the circumstances in which Balajirao, who has sworn his ruin, vigorously solicits the Nawab and M. de Bussy to leave him to his mercy.

By this means you will hold both in suspense. If the circumstances happen to declare themselves in our favour, I shall turn them to account to protect you from their persecutions and threats.

I presume that you will do me the favour to believe that I shall not fail to inform you about them, but to obey the recommendation which you have made to me to frankly reveal to you all that experience has taught me, I am afraid of omitting the slightest detail.

I request you, Sir, to kindly include, in the number of the officers whom you will send here, le chevalier de Baslay who is a relative of Rev. Fr. de Monjustin and in whom he is interested.

Whatever desire I have to finish this letter, the general affairs which are discussed in it, ought not to make me forget mine and I must also for foresee everthing on this point.

Whatever may be, Sir, the arrangements of Europe on the affairs, and even it came to a total abandonment, I must take precautions for the future, and I expect from the generous equity of which you have given me marks, that you will kindly assure me in the name of the Company the sums which I shall probably be forced to advance and borrow or make the arrangements in this retrocession, if it takes place, by which I do not become the victim of my zeal for the service of the Company, and those, from whom I shall have borrowed, the dupe of their honesty.

The revenues of the territories, however vast they may be, are collected, as I have said so many times, only after the harvest and the sale of the grains. In the meanwhile, all the noblemen in the Empire make advances on their credit. You could have seen since I have been corresponding with you to what scrupulous exactness I have practised economy. In spite of that, I had to make advances for which I only seek the repayment of the capital. There is no question of interest. I also await, Sir, your reply on the question of hundred thousand rupees lent to the treasury of Machchalipatnam about which I have sent you the papers and acknowledgements.

Perhaps, Sir, you have not been left with the copy of the conditions settled between Salabat Jang and me on the occasion of the districts under mortgage. I am sending them to your herewith.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

Conditions.

Settled and accepted between the Nawab Salabat Jang, his Prime Minister and the officers of the Emperor on the one hand, M. de Bussy, Commander-in-Chief of the French troops in the Deccan, on the other.

1

Monsieur de Bussy will follow the Nawab wherever he will judge it proper to march with his army. He will assist him with all his forces in the different expeditions which he will undertake in all the extent of the Deccan and its dependences, on both the sides of the ghats of the Carnatic, but not beyond the limits of the said Deccan on the side of the north fixed by the river Narmada which M. de Bussy does not undertake to cross without seeking the advice of the Governor-General of the French nation.

2

For the maintenance and the salary of the French troops, Salabat Jang, his minister and the officers of the Empire cede to M. de Bussy and his nation the districts of Srikakulam, Rajahmundry, Elluru and Mustafanagar, of which he will be granted the parvana in proper form. The French will be responsible for the expenses of the operation of taking possession of the said districts, and they could not claim any compensation from the Sarkar for the sums which Jafar Ali Khan, at present governor of these districts, might have collected in advance for the current year. From the day of the expedition and the date of the paravana, all the emoluments, subsidies, supplies rewards and any other expenses for the maintenance of the French, of their artillery and equipment will cease to be laid to the account of the Nawab, and the French will be responsible for them.

3

The French will enjoy complete sovereignty over the said districts without any other responsibility than the maintenance of the troops with the subhedar of the Deccan, for the salary and expenses of which they are ceded. In the exercise of their sovereignty, they could sentence to death all the Muslims and others with the exception of

the Kazi and the Mufty. They will be obliged in the said cases to call other Kazis and Mufties who will be informed and will endorse the conviction of the guilty.

4

The jahgirs situated in these districts will entirely remain in the hands of those to whom they have been granted previously, either by Nizam-ul-Mulk, Salabat Jang and his predecessors, or by the Emperor. Likewise, the pensions and other rights on lands and bazars, granted in the form of charity to the fakirs and others will be retained by them.

5

The prerogatives of the kazis will not be touched. They will be allowed free exercise of their authority in the transactions of which they must take cognizance. It is understood that they will be subordinate to the persons whom M. de Bussy will have appointed to administer these districts. Nevertheless, M. de Bussy can change and dismiss the said Kazis and Mufties according as he will deem it proper.

6

The French could build temples in these districts and appoint priests of their religion; they will be free to preach it but they will not be permitted to offer any insult to the Mohomedans. They will not be prevented from practising their religion nor will they be permitted to destroy the mosques.

7

The officers of the Emperor like Vacanagars, Savaninegars, Deshpande's, etc. will retain all their old rights, privileges and emoluments.

8

M. de Bussy will farm out the said districts as he likes, change the farmers, corivanis and others as he likes. He will not allow the zamindars to use up the lands and fortresses which for all times formed part of the dominion of the Mughals, and he will govern them according to the pattern employed previously, as his interests demand it. However, he will be free to make war or peace with the

said zamindars or any other powers, and completely destroy the palegars if he judges it proper.

9

Neither Salabat Jang, nor the officers of his Darbar, nor those of the Emperor could give any order in the said districts; all the parvanas or written orders of Salabat Jang or of any person will be null and void unless they have the approval of M. de Bussy. All the Musalmans established or who could settle in the said districts will be deemed as subjects of the French like the Hindus. No one will be exempt from paying import-export duties to the French or to their farmers, not even the Nawab, except only those who will be furnished with old privileges to this effect.

10

Monsieur de Bussy could restore the fortifications, construct new ones, build towns, petas or villages, etc., if it was necessary, as he likes. (This article is rescinded by Article No. 9 of the arrangements between M. Le Godeheu and Saunders, unless the Nawab ordered it in the conflict of the two parties, for whom must he decide himself?).

11

The Government or Sarkar of Salabat Jang which receives through its governors an annual tribute from the English and the Dutch established on the Orissa Coast, independently of that which these same Europeans paid to the said Governor of these districts, relinquishes this right, and leaves M. de Bussy free to act on this subject, as he will deem it fit, reserving for themselves to demand the account of these very dues from the person to whom they will belong, if the French happened to quit his alliance, withdraw their troops and consequently restore these said districts, in which case Salabat Jang promises to appoint for the administration of these provinces a person who will be indicated to him by the French, and who will be most acceptable to their nation. A we can hardly profit by the advantage of this article or of that designated as B, if we withdrew from our present acquisitions in the humiliating and dishonourable manner which our rivals desire and of which they have already laid the foundations. When the said districts of Srikakulam, Rajahmundry, Elluru and

Mustafanagar return to the domains of the Nawab as they were so before, the French will not be free to produce statements of expenses which will exceed the revenues of the districts. Likewise, Salabat Jang or his Darbar cannot demand any accounts from the French.

12

If Salbat Jang and his Darbar, out of unforeseen events, were the first to renounce the alliance of the French, the latter will remain masters of the four districts as long as they judge it proper and their interests demand it. B.

Translation of a letter from Ajitsing, Raja of Marwar, the foremost Raja of the whole of Hindustan, (It is this Raja who, on the accession of each Mughal Emperor, performs this ceremony, so well known to put a red mark in the middle of his forehead with the big thumb, while offering him one of his daughters. This ceremony establishes undeniably the power and the authority of the Emperor on all the Rajputs.) to M. de Bussy.

By the grace of God, let this letter reach and find the Nawab Sayyad Daulah¹, Bahaddur Gasamfar Jang Humdet Mulk², Sipahi Salar, the best of my friends, in good health.

My heart is extremely sad for not having received any of your letters for more than a year. I every day hear about the miracles your valour works in the Deccan and that without you, the Mughals would succumb and these brigands of Marathas, who have caused so many disasters in this part, would have destroyed Salabat Jang and the Mughal power, I have some knowledge of the Europeans, but in all the fainguistan³. I think that there is neither your equal nor your counterpart, which induces me to win, as I have already written to you, your friendship, your alliance, and that of the (French) nation. I have heard incredible things about the artillery which you possess. If your forces combine with those of mine, I would soon expel beyond the Narmada these brigands who desolate Hindustan. This letter will reach you through Raja Narsingrao whom you know.

¹ Saif-ud-daulah.

² Umdal-ul-Mulk.

³ Firanguistan (Europe).

I solicit you to trust all that he will tell you on my part. Let me hear from you more often.

We, the undersigned, testify the present translation as corresponding to the original which we have seen and heard interpreted.

Hyderabad, July 15, 1755.

Signed : Montagnier de la Roque and de Monjustin Jesuit.

Translation of a letter from Asefia Nisamelmoulak Bahadour Fatejingue, Sipahi Salar, Maderelmohaul¹, Great Vazir of the Mughal Empire, to Monsieur de Bussy.

To the Nawab Homdet el moulouk Bahadour Sefetdoula Gazamfejang, Sipahis Salar. Let God shower his graces on you and beat your enemies, etc.

Since a year I have received only one of your letters which was delivered to me by the Raja Kishrao, leader of the harakaras of the Padasha. Perhaps you thought that I was formerly your enemy and that of Salabat Jang whom you support, because I am the son of the Emir Ferjang Ghazi-ud-din Khan. Let those, who have created this impression be confounded. Salabat Jang, whose rights you uphold, is my uncle ; we are both of the family of Asafzah, which you have set up again (on the throne of the Deccan) By supporting his successors, you have supported the Emperor and the Empire. All that you have done for Salabat Jang leads the Padasha to desire your friendship and the alliance of the (French) nation. Rest assured that all your exploits have been carried to the feet of the throne of the Padasha who has felt great satisfaction about it. Therefore, do not make any difference between me and Salabat Jang. If some dispute arises between him and me through the malice of our enemies or otherwise, before taking your decision, examine on which side is the right or

¹ Asafazah Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahaddur Fateh Jang Sipah Salar Madarul Maham.

² Umdat-ul-Mulk Bahaddur Saif-ud-daulah. Gazamfar Jang.

the wrong. You know all the troubles which took place here two years back and the labours, I had to go through to succeed to the post to which God has raised me and confound my enemies. I offer to you and to the (French) nation all the help I can with the Padasha.

We the undersigned, certify the present translation as corresponding to the original which we have seen and heard interpreted.

Hyderabad, July 15, 1755.

Signed : De Monjustin, Jesuit, and Montagnier de la Roque, Major.

Translation of a letter from Janoji Maharav, a Maratha chief of the family of Shahu Raja, Mansabdar of the Emperor, Jahgirdar of Salabat Jang to Monsieur de Bussy.

Let this letter reach the Nawab Humdet el moulouk, etc. my protector and the best of my friends.

My son, on whom you showered your favours has delivered to me the letter on his return from the army ; it has given me an inexpressible pleasure. All that I can say to you on the services which you have just rendered to the Mughals and to Salabat Jang cannot come up to all that has been made public about them. The whole Hindustan is aware that it is you who have raised the family of Nizam-ul-mulk by your protection and all the services which you have rendered to Salabat Jang. Let God preserve him always in his place and you to support him there and confound his enemies and yours. I cannot say to you how much I am grateful, as also my son, for the kindnesses you have for him. Remain always my friend and my protector. My heart is always with you. Give me news about you often and about everything that will take place, and I shall do as much for those which you have recommended to me to examine. You can rest assured that I shall communicate to you the minutest actions of Balajirao. Fortunately my health has been restored. I wish that you should always enjoy good health.

C² 86, f. 195-203 v^o.

Pondicherry, August 17, 1755.

Sir,

I have to reply to the three letters which you wrote to me on the 14th and 23rd July and the 1st instant.

Please have no doubts that I take a pleasure in giving you on all occasions marks of the confidence which I have pledged to you. I think it is necessary for the benefit of the affairs with which we have to deal to extricate ourselves honourably from the state of uncertainty in which the latest arrangements have placed us, supposing that they take effect wholly or partly, which will depend, as you say it, on the manner in which they are grasped in France. Whilst we are waiting for this decision, it is mortifying for us to be exposed to the indecent utterings of the English and of their supporters against the glory of the King and the honour of the nation. If it is to attack us in sentiments which have in all times distinguished the French from the other nations. But what shall we do? We must, while fretting under restraint, wait until fresh orders decide our fate. I have reason to suppose from all the news which, the vessel *Le Duc D'Acquitaine* has brought us from France that they (the authorities) are no longer as displaced, as they appeared to be when M. Godeheu left it to come to India, to have gracious condescensions for the English. They are disheartened by the haughtiness with which they (the English) responded to the advances made to them, and their conduct has revealed the spirit which animates them.

I did not find in the copy of your correspondence with M. Godeheu the letter which you wrote to him on the 29th November. It contains, according to what you write to me, interesting details of which it is desirable that I should be informed. I requested you in one of my latest letters to send it to me.

M. Godeheu arrived here with instructions which all aimed only at peace. He could not do otherwise than to confine himself to them. The Company, ill informed, wished to put an end to a war which did not appear to it just, and of which they did not perceive the

outcome. The enemies of M. Dupleix have not a little contributed by their talks and the imputations with which he was charged for the advances which the Company thought it proper to make. But the harm is irremediable. The truce which M. Godeheu has procured us gives us time to restore our strength which several consecutive defeats had in some sort exhausted, and we are today in a position to decide for war if the English want to force us buy peace on conditions which do not suit us.

The English have certainly ground to take advantage of the conditional treaty drawn between M. Godeheu and Saunders. But do they not lack politics in making too much haste to publish it? It may not be otherwise than it has been for the Mughals, a subject of many reflections, in my opinion, because you write to me that the translation which they got made of it in Persian is not faithful. The choice of Machchalipatnam or Divy has not at all been left to their option. On the contrary, it is left to us to choose that of the two places which will suit us the best.

This inaccuracy in the translation leads me to send you a copy of it. Please do not tell anyone that you have received it and disclose freely to me alone the reflections which it could suggest to you. Insinuate to the Mughals that the translation of this treaty which has been sent to them is not accurate and that the English have altered its import and have turned it to their advantage.

I rather agree with you that the Mughals will be very much grieved to see us share there territory between us and the English according to our respective convenience, and perhaps indeed they will not allow us to make quietly this division to which, it appears to me, we cannot consent without failing them and without being accused of weakness or dishonesty with respect to them when they will see us at the same time abandon Salabat Jang.

I show you openly my way of thinking and I speak to you confidently. The more I reflect on all our affairs the more I hate to think of the contemplated retrocessions as well as of the division. Besides do not feel discouraged and continue to support your work. We must hope that time will furnish us some favourable solution.

Shortly, after my arrival here, Sir, de Noronha spoke to me of his plan to join you in Mysore where you then were. I knew well what could be his aim in undertaking this journey, but I thought that out of respect for M. and Mme Dupleix, I ought not to oppose it. I had still not received any letters from you, and I was not informed as much as I am today of your situation. He postponed his journey for a long time and I would have afterwards withdrawn my consent. But he had incurred expenses for the preparations for this journey which would have been lost. This reflection held me back and I allowed him to leave although regretfully. He stopped, as you have been informed, at Vellore. I have not yet heard about his departure from this place. He dares not set out as he fears that they (his creditors) have designs on the baggage of Muzaffar Khan's wife who forms his retinue and who is credited with having left her treasures. He took it into his head to go to Shira where I do not know what he wants to do, as he owes here right and left and as he is not in a position to pay. I think that he is only trying to save himself from his creditors. It is already some time back that I sent word to him through M. Dubeausset to return here. I suppose that your letters will finally decide him to do so.

The first copy of your letter of the 14th July has not yet reached me. The letter in original which you have received from the Emperor must be attached to it. I would be worried not to receive it if I had not reason to presume from what you write to me that it was delivered to the Mansabdar who is bringing me the sarpech from the Nawab, which you announce to me, with the suitable titles. I appreciate very much this mark of distinction on the part of the Nawab.

I am sorry, Sir, that your affairs did not allow you the leisure to go to the country-house, of which you speak to me, take some relaxation there and enjoy a little peacefulness as you had proposed to do. I can only admire the zeal which actuates you in the conduct of the affairs which are entrusted to you. They vary and change so often their form that they require on your part a constant attention in order not to lose them out of sight and follow their thread.

You are right in not being worried by the malicious talks which can be engendered against you by the envious, and the jealous. They

are trying in vain to shroud your actions. The benefit and the advantages which result from them will always speak in your favour and throw them into confusion. Do not, therefore, be afraid that they would make impression on my mind. All the letters you have received from me so far assure you of all the justice I render you? I am delighted to repeat to you once again by this letter the same assurances while recognising all the utility and importance of your services.

Let not the ideas of M. de la Selle disturb you from the plan which you have formed for the administration of the revenues of the four districts under mortgage. If he is not satisfied with it, he can retire to Machchalipatnam. I am accordingly writing to him as you wish it. You must not bring about any change in it because there might result from it troubles which will deprive us of their revenues and of the only resource which you have for the subsistence of your army.

M. de la Selle points out to me that he has communicate to you the secret correspondence which Vijay Ram Raja maintains with the English who have furnished him, according to his statement, with 6,000 muskets, 20 soldiers and two guns. I do believe that the English are trying to win over to their side this Raja as well as all the others in the neighbourhood to form a party in the region in case war recommences. You are on the spot; it is for you to judge the importance of this information and employ means, which you deem proper in accordance with the times and the circumstances, to keep in check this Raja who appears inclined to cause us some embarrassment, if he has subsequently an occasion for it.

Besides, it appears to me that it is not advisable to do anything which might to disturb the tranquillity of our districts and it suffices for the present to maintain things there in the equilibrium in which they are until we require the decision which we expect from France.

I thought, Sir, that it was of no consequence to fire a few gun-shots at the reception of the sarpech sent to me by the fouzdar of Cudappa. It is an honour in usage in these parts which has not the same merit as if it was less lavish. Besides, I only conformed myself to what was practised during the time of M. Godeheu on such occasion, and I did not really imagine that a few gun-shots given to the fouzdar might have resounded as far as Hyderabad. Moreover, in future, I shall profit by the advice which you give me.

It would have been desirable that the confederation of the Marathas against Balajirao had materialised and that it had succeeded in humbling him in a manner not to leave for Salabat Jang any cause for fear for the future. Besides, I rely on the conduct which you will adopt according to the circumstances, either with respect to Murarrao from whom it will be fit and proper to obtain, if the occasion arises, a renunciation for the sums which he claims from us, or with respect to Balajirao to whom you can furnish the succour which he demands from you against the Angre, supposing that this arrangement is compatible with those which you have with the Nawab. My letter to Balajirao in reply to the demand which he has made to me of the (sar) Deshmukhi and the Chauthai of the province of Arcot is in keeping with your ideas. This Maratha chief, from what you point out to me, speaks in a very haughty tone to Salabat Jang. The threat which he has given to him to break the peace if we listen to the proposals of Murarrao, sufficiently proves that he fears nothing from the confederation which was formed against him. Salabat Jang will never be tranquil so long as this man will maintain himself in the position of power which he wields today.

See from all the details which you give me that you will always be very badly off on the subject of the revenues of your four districts for the subsistence of your army and that the districts of the dependency of Machchalipatam already charged with the repayment of your old debts, as they must still make-up for, your needs, they could not be of any resource to us in these parts in case war recommences, as there is every ground to think so according to the latest news. From where shall I then take money to support it? You are as well posted as I with the real situation of the country. If the Raja of Mysore furnishes it, it will only be inasmuch as he will hope to obtain Tiruchchirappali. There will only very little to expect from the revenues of the province of Arcot unless we have a decided advantage over our enemies. I have already communicated to you my reflections on this question and I dwell on it again to urge you to profit by all the occasions which you will have to procure all the means to respond to my views. What can we not expect from the different situations in which you are every day? The English, who have for then the province of Arcot alone of which we also possess

a part, will they have to support the war against us more resources than we have in the Deccan which we govern in some sort? Moreover, an idea occurs to me; if the Nawab or his Darbar refused to contribute to the expenses of the war in these parts, could they not lend us in our needs some sums of money which would be repaid to them? Messrs. Le Noir and Dumas, former governors of this place, when they were pressed for money, found it, in the treasury of Arcot for which they paid a moderate interest. This item demands some attention on your part.

I have not heard of the chief of Balapur since I wrote to you about it. It would be, in my opinion, quite difficult to obtain from him the two lakhs which he promises without the knowledge of the Raja of Mysore. Would not the chief of Balapur himself be the first to proclaim the protection, which would be granted to him, to impose upon the enemy? I think that the advantage which we could drive from the affair will depend only on the circumstances of your next campaign. If, in the meantime, I can turn to account your ideas on this subject, I shall not lose the occasion for it.

It is important, Sir, for you to appose, as much as it will depend on you, to the plan of the English and Muhammad Ali Khan to make the province of Arcot independent of the Subhedar of the Deccan. The disgrace of Holkar and his absence from Delhi are really going to stop their earlier proceedings in this connection, as also the presents which they are sending to this Holkar about whom you have entered into a detail which has delighted me. Salabat Jang is not less interested than us in thwarting them in their designs.

The Waquils of Balajirao and Murarrao continue to stay here, but I see them rarely. Do not neglect, Sir, to communicate to me your ideas and your knowledge on what relates to the politics of the country. I can profit much by it.

I was delighted to read the translation of the letter which you have received from the Vazir. I am impatient to receive that of the Emperor whom I would wish to see appear in the Deccan, as I am always convinced that this event would be favourable to us.

You have done well, Sir, to send me a copy of your conditions with Salabat Jang in connection with the four districts under mortgage. I had no knowledge of it. Do not doubt, Sir, the Company will take into account the sums which you will be obliged to borrow for the subsistence of your army while waiting for the return of your revenue which are collected only after the harvest and the sale of the grains. The Company is too just to raise the least difficulty on this item. I do not think also that the retrocession might take place before those debts are paid off, and that is on what I indeed reckon to explain myself in my letters to the Company.

I would have wished that you could wait for the sum which is due to you from the treasury of Machchalipatnam as also for the others to be repaid to you from the revenues of our districts of the north. If, however, you persist in the plan to send this year the aforesaid sum to France, you must, Sir, obtain a bill of exchange from the Council of Machchalipatnam on the Supreme Council payable in another bill of exchange on the Company in France. It is a factory arrangement absolutely necessary for the accounts, and in this case, I inform you that I shall get it done to your order, and shall send it to you so that you could endorse it to the order of those whom you will choose as your procurer in France. As I have not so far sent there any funds for my account, I have so far not yet taken any arrangement on this point so that, I cannot indicate to you any person to whom you could address yourself in order to receive the amount of this bill of exchange. It has been till today Dumavoir, one of my brothers whom I entrusted with a few affairs I had in France.

When you could send me the 50,000 rupees of which you speak to me, I shall be delighted to receive them. But it appears to me just to pay you the interest for them. I am not less sensible of the obliging and generous offer which you make to me on this subject.

You will have 150 French soldiers and 5 officers of whom you have herewith the list, and 188 German soldiers including 25 or 30 hussars. If you wish it, M. de Brandt, chief of the brigade, who is actually at Machchalipatnam, will bring with him a captain, a lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant, an ensign and a captain-hussar. I recommend

to M. Moracin to send you these troops with the munitions which are meant for you, the whole as you will demand them.

As the revenues of the four districts under mortgage just balance the expenses of your army, I am afraid that they might not suffice if you have bad debts. It might even happen that the expenses may exceed much. I think, Sir, that to avoid this eventuality, you could reduce the pay of the officers of your army by half during the monsoon quarters. This reduction appears to me even necessary. Take arrangements so that at least it does not cost anything to the Company. If it cannot hope to get anything from these districts the revenues of which, destined by Salabat Jang for the maintenance of your troops, ought to balance the expenses.

All the private letters received by the vessel *Le Due d'Acquitaine*, which left orient on the 23rd February, announce an impending war with the English. They are arming in all the ports of France and England, and in France they were preparing to send a large corps of troops to Canada where we are vigorously carrying on a war for the territories in dispute.

I was pleased to receive the information which you give me in your letter of the 6th instant of the capture of one by name Apparao who caused you some anxiety in the districts of Elluru and Mustafanagar. I approve the decision you have taken to write to M. Moracin so that he should send him to you to be delivered to Salabat Jang who will decide his fate.

M. Moracin ought to inform you of the arrival of troops and munitions of war which are meant for you as he receives them.

I congratulate you on the second letter and the present which you expect from the Emperor.

A report is spread here that the Marathas and the Angre have jointly invested Bombay. If this news was true. I think that it would not be advisable to give to Balajirao the succours which he demands of you against the latter. It appears that this war is carried on without his participation. There is nothing positive about this report. Others say that the Marathas have joined the English against the Angre which would destroy the earlier news.

The letter which I wrote to you by the ship *Le Silhouet* as well as others for *Machchlipatnam* have not been delevered. I suppose that the captain of the vessel must have by mistake carried them to Bengal with my seals which I sent you on this same occasion in a small box adressed to you.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

I am sending you *M. Le Chevalier du Balet* according to your wishes. This young man was, as you know, in the German corps and is today without service. You are certainly aware of his affair. See what you can do for him.

C² 86, f. 203v^o-205

Pondicherry, August 30, 1755.

Sir,

I hear from all sides that *Mahammad Ali Khan* and the English are making preparations in a resolute manner to levy contributions from all the different *palegars* of the province of *Arcot* whom the claim to be their tributaries and that their claims extend even to the *Killedar* of *Vellore* from whom they wish to obtain a sum of money at whatever price it may be. These contemplated proceedings deserve all my attention, and I am not at all in a mood to look at these preparations nonchalantty, still less the effects which could follow from them, and it is to obviate them and take suitable precautions that I hasten to inform you of this news and communicate to you my ideas on this subject.

The *Killedar* of *Vellore* and others, who certainly ought to be aware of the designs of *Mahammad Ali* and the English, do not approach me to parry the moves which these latter aim at them. There is no doubt that it is for as a most convincing proof of the discredit in which our nation has begun to fall in these parts. But there is a remedy and I am determined to employ it.

" I think, Sir, that it is essential to impose the recognised authority of Salabat Jang who, as Subhedar of the Deccan, can and ought to watch over everything that takes place in the territories and properties of his dependency. Now, in the present circumstances, he ought to speak as a master and prevent these palegars and especially the Killedar of Vellore who is immediately dependent on the Nawab of Arcot from paying any sum of money either to the English or to Muhammad Ali who after all is not yet invested with the title sufficiently to act despotically. It is, therefore, advisable and it is even necessary that you should urge Salabat Jang to write in good time to the Killedar of Vellore to refuse to pay to Muhammad Ali the tribute which they intend to demand from him, and Salabat Jang can even threaten him that in case he paid it, he would then be forced to pay for the second time at least the same sum.

To give more weight to these threats, I would, moreover, be of the opinion that Salabat Jang should affect to spread the report that he proposed to descend into the Carnatic to put all the things on a good footing and befitting his interests. Perhaps this pretence would produce the effects which we ought to seek, and perhaps it would also contribute to revive us in the minds of these people who would have begun to forget who we are and what we are worth.

You perceive, like me, Sir, the consequences of this small detail, and you are aware that these parts ought to fix your attention at least as much as that in which you shine with so much advantage, and the medioure condition of the one must not in any way tarnish the magnificence of the other.

I remain, etc.

C² 86, f. 166-166v°

Hyderabad, August 6, 1755.

Sir,

I hasten to communicate to you a very interesting event. It is the capture of a brigand of the districts of Elluru and Mustafanagar by name Apparao whom the farmer of the said districts has sent as a prisoner to Machchalipatnam. Without this coup d'Etat, it was impossible for me to take the field. The proceedings of this palegar, which would be too long to enumerate to you, stopped the revenues and set disorder in this territory. The farmer of these districts had asked me for my orders on this point. I informed the Nawab before sending them to him, he requested me as a favour to give strict orders. Accordingly, I wrote to the farmer of this district to seize this palegar dead or alive. But we were still away from Hyderabad and this farmer did not want to do anything until we had arrived there. My approach rendered the job easier for him; he executed it with all possible success. I have sent him, according to the custom, a sabre and a horse.

I am writing to M. Moracin to request him to keep a watch on the guard of this prisoner and hand him over to the commandant of the detachment which you are sending me. I shall hand him over to the Nawab according to the conventions or take such a decision as is proper. Whatever security can be offered to us and whatever happens, we must not deliver this palegar to anyone. The capture of this brigand is a coup d'Etat for the Nawab and especially for us. He is as delighted as I am at this event. If subsequently we judge it proper to establish in these two districts some post useful for trade, we can do it in all security. As this sole palegar is behind bars, everything is free from trouble, and if these districts were to return to the sarkar of the Nawab, he would be obligated to us for purging his territory of this brigand. I am actually sending a detachment to our farmer to complete his job. It will be composed of those who will be replaced by the Germans and others whom you are sending me (of whom I have yet no news), and ought to return to Machchalipatnam. After the fresh Jamabandi is made, which is a work of one month, I do

not yet know how many officers should receive to complete the number of those whom I am going to send back. The slip La Silborette has arrived at Machchalipatnam. I also do not know what is received (in troops from Europe) for this year. The first copy of your last letters has still to come, as also your seals. Just at this moment I have received a letter from the chief of the Emperor's, harakaras, who is resident at Delhi and who sends me a second letter from this sovereign with an elephant and a sarpech as presents.

I have the honour to be remain, etc.

C² 86, f. 167-168.

Hyderabad, August 12, 1755.

Sir,

The affairs of our districts, those of the Marathas, those of the Darbar of Salabat Jang, the settlement of our black troops, and more than that, the balance which must be paid to them for the last campaign in spite of the arrears of our farmers create so many difficulties for me that I shall be very happy if I do not get mad, in the midst of this Chaos of affairs, I have received a letter from the chief of the harakaras of the Emperor in connection with which I wrote to you in my last letter on the subject of the one which he announced to me. I am writing to you these few words to send you the translation.

I remain, etc.

Translation of a letter from Raja Kishrao¹. Daroga or chief of the Harakaras of the Emperor, to the Nawab Humdet el mulouk, etc.

All that you have demanded from this Court is ready to be sent to you. The Padasha, who replies to your letter, as you desire it, had given orders to prepare an elephant and a sarpech. But as the Vazir elmoulouk must also send you a Khilat, I considered that he ought

¹ Kesavrao.

to send you an elephant and that the Emperor should send you only a toque which he must have put on his head, with a sarpech, the whole accompanied by the farman of which I send you the copy. This is what is decided. Let me know your views on all these arrangements. According to the advice which I gave you in my last letter, every thing was ready to be dispatched. But I considered that this last arrangement would be still more honourable for you. I am taking much precaution because your enemies and those of your nation might thwart what I am doing. Please continue your kindnesses, to my son. Give me your news promptly.

Translation of the letter from the Emperor to M. de Bussy, following the advice of Raja Kishrao.

God is victorious to the Captain, etc. The titles and the compliments are the same as in the previous letter.

My letter, full of favours and kindnesses, which I wrote to you must have certainly reached you. Since then I thought that your services deserved a more conspicuous favour on my part and grant you all that you ask in your humble letter, which was presented to me by Raja Kishrao. By this present firman I confirm all that Assefet daulah Bahaddur Salabat Jang had done for you and for your nation, so that you should at present enjoy the gifts which was given to it, and the lands, gams or villages, circars or districts, bandars or sea-ports, given to you, considering that it is a just reward for your services, I also give my approval to all that Assefet daulah Salabat Jang might still do subsequently for you or for your nation. I insist that you should always be the companion of my very beloved son Salabat Jang. I join to this present firman some marks of my favour which Raja Kishrao will inform you.

Granted on, etc.

C² 86, f. 205-205 v^o.

Pondicherry, September 10, 1755.

Sir,

I am sending you herewith a duplicate of my last letter of 30th August, and I add what I have learnt some time back. I am informed that Muhammad Ali actually resides in a garden which belongs to M. Meder at a short distance from Madras, that two English councillors proceed there quite regularly to confer with him on the present affairs. Some say that the English Governor (Mr. Pigot) intends that he should establish his residence near him, others say that he will return to Arcot after settling his accounts with the English who ask from him 22 lakhs of rupees as a salary. There have been some difference between them on this question, and I am informed that the Governor has not yet seen him.

This is the most recent news which I consider as very spurious, as I have obtained it only by indirect and untrustworthy means, but I always collect it.

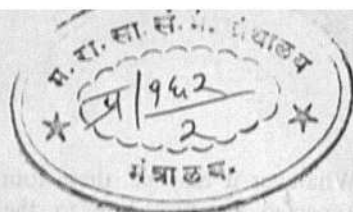
I do not hear, Sir, of this mansabdar whom you announced to me on behalf of Salabat Jang. I nevertheless think that he is bearer of the original letter which the Emperor has written to you, and it is for this reason that I impatiently await him.

I received in triplicate your letter of the 12th of the last month with the translation attached to it of that which you received from the head of the harakaras of the Emperor. I was delighted to read it.

I expect that you have by now received, Sir, the letter which I wrote to you in duplicate on the 17th of the last month to which was attached a copy of the treaty drawn between M. Godeheu and Saunders. I would have indeed liked to know if these packets have reached you, and I shall be delighted to get your reflections on the decisions.

Messrs. Duplan and Law are ready to leave and join you. They will carry the additional troops which I have announced to you.

I remain, etc.



C^a 86, f. 168-169 v^o.

Hyderabad, August 24, 1755.

Sir,

I received your letter of the 29th July and the duplicate of that of the 7th. There is nothing more obliging and more flattering for me than the approval which you are kind enough to give to my operations. The praises you shower on them bear all the marks of sincerity. They are unequivocal proofs of an esteem to which I have always aspired. What crowns my joy is the fact that the affairs of the Deccan have found a place in your esteem and that their importance appears to you such as I have tried to depict it. The truth is always grasped by an enlightened and impartial mind. It does not need any borrowed colour to create impression. I have no doubt that the equitable judgement which you form of them will destroy in Europe the prejudices, which they have formed, with all the greater success as your views on the affairs of India would not appear suspect to any one.

Your reflection on the success of Ibrahim Khan at Srikakulam is just. But allow me to point out to you that it should not cover the four districts under mortgage, which are ceded for the salary and the maintenance of the army; their revenues are a substitute for the money from the treasury which was given to us every month as salary. As the treasury was used up, the Nawab has made up or it by ceding the districts, on the revenues of which the army is to be maintained and subsidized. As all the expenses cease for the account of the Nawab, as it is stipulated in the conditions of which I have sent you the copy, there is no doubt that if, after first deducting the expenses, there remained some balance, it would devolve upon the treasury of the Company. That is in what I could not yet succeed in spite of the scrupulous economy with which I balance the expenses of this army. The arrears, and the profits, not collected during the first year of possession, as I have enumerated in my letter of 1st August, far from leaving us any surplus, have obliged us to incur debts. We enjoy it now, it is true, but will this enjoyment yield beyond what is necessary? We must expect it only from the beneficence of time.

Whatever it may be, these four districts today realise as much as was expected by furnishing to the army of the Deccan its subsistence without throwing a burden on the Company and if subsequently by my efforts to reduce the expenses and assure tranquillity in these Circars, by purging them of some brigands, there remains a surplus, there is no doubt that the treasury of the Company will benefit from it.

What can contribute to the advantage of the treasury, are the rich possessions which constitute the government of Machchalipatnam and its dependencies, fruit of the campaign of the Deccan. People, still prejudiced that we were running after an empty glory and that our acquisitions would be a burden (on the Company), insist on deluding themselves before we were in possession of Condavir. Ships have left richly laden, of which the cargo cost the Company only the trouble to receive it. The domains of Machchalipatnam have born all the expenses. These domains, I repeat, which are given for ever in all sovereignty to the Company and which procure for its commerce facilities which it never had, are capable of destroying the prejudice, if they had as a basis only an unintentional mistake.

The Jats, a Hindu nation, zamindars of the soubha of Agra, had differences with the Vazir, which has led the Emperor to spend the rainy season at Delhi and to leave his army in the field under the orders of the Vazir. The Jats solicited a compromise and that the ex-Vazir Kanekanam¹ was mediator between them and the Emperor, their master. The affair is being negotiated, Kanekanam demands a crore and the jats so far have offered 35 lakhs. This is how the matters stand. The plans of the Emperor have not changed, he wants to re-establish order in his Empire.

I do not lose sight of what you have written to me in your letter of the 7th and am seeking the means in order to procure to you what you desire and put you at ease, without precisely answering you for the success. Rest assured about the pains which I shall take to succeed in it.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

¹ Khankhanan.

C^o 86, f. 206-207.

Pondicherry, September 16, 1755.

Sir,

I avail myself of the departure of M. Duplan to acknowledge to you the receipt of your letter dated the 24th of the last month. I am extremely satisfied with the hope which you give me that we could feel in these parts the effects of the advantages which you enjoy. I very personally desire that your proceedings and your cares towards this object are not unfruitful.

I hasten to inform you of a very interesting news which we received *via* Basra. There is a mention of a truce drawn for two years between France and England so that on both sides we can either amicably settle the points of differences and interests which exist or be in position to terminate them with arms in hand. It was time, for, according the news already public, England had 50 warships ready to leave and in our turn, we had 30 which, combined with 25 others which Spain was to furnish, put us in a position to act. But what does not interest us less in all that could contribute to the latest arrangements, is that it appears that in France they have at last noticed that the English, in the affairs which especially relate to this country, behaved with sentiments quite opposite to those which they should have had, and now they no longer appear so disposed to make sacrifices, of which there is still a question, without beforehand providing for the disadvantages which could result from them. These dispositions give me a sensible pleasure and already, Sir, to derive advantage from them, I invite you to spread, the report among the Mughals, of course, with precautions, but however, in a manner to see that they recover from the unfortunate impressions which the English have created against us by affecting to divulge talks which could only harm us.

I send you herewith extracts of the letters from Europe which confirm this news of a truce of two years between the French and the English.

As soon as the troops which I have meant for you reach you, and have sent back to Machchalipatnam those whom you wanted to get

rid of, I request you, Sir, to give instructions to work on a general statement of all the expenses which your army incurs per month. I shall be delighted if this document reaches me promptly.

I expect that your earliest letters will inform me of the preparations of the Nawab as well as of his plans for the next campaign. I also await news from you to know in which direction will turn the army of the Emperor.

M. Paris, Captain of artillery, accompanies M. Duplan. This officer was highly recommended to Messrs. Godeheu and Dupleix. M. Law will still remain here for some time to restore his health.

I furnished M. Duplan with all the promises which he demanded from me and which are necessary for you.

I remain, etc.

C² 86, f. 03-03v^o.

Letter from M. de Montaran to M. de Bussy.

June 17, 1754.

Sir,

I am in receipt of your two letters of the 10th of August and 2nd October, 1753. It is quite proper that you should be helped in the administration of your affairs in France and if M. Marion, whom you have charged with them, cannot attend to them, I shall substitute for him, in consultation with you, a reliable person who will be careful to give me an account of them. Apparently, you have given to M. Marion powers and instructions which he will indeed communicate to me to know what your plans are on the employment of the funds which you have remitted on which you can remit to Europe.

Your second letter is much more alarming on the affairs of India, and I shall confess to you that the memorial which M. Dupleix sends us on your behalf indeed tends to increase these anxieties, since

instead of announcing to us an approaching end of the troubles, we only perceive in them a greater, likelihood of war on all sides. In spite of your victories and treaties with Balajirao, the Deccan is far from being tranquil, and you lack complete security for subsistence of your troops. The Court of the great Mughal is itself troubled by strong parties, and war is more kindled than ever in the Carnatic.

All the efforts, which the Company has made, serve, so to say, only to throw it into fresh difficulties, and sometimes the immensity of the conquests which you present to us. Everyone uniformly thinks that much smaller but tranquil possessions ought to satisfy the ambition of the Company. If your pains and your cares can succeed to this end, it is only then that they will be really useful. I can say that it also ought to be your aim personally and that you ought to think of trying to enjoy quietly the fruits of your pains and of your labours. In working for you, you will work for the real good of the State and of the Company, and you will provide us with the surest means of succeed in the demand for favours which you desire. In the meantime, I shall not fail to set off all your services before the Minister. But I repeat it to you, peace and tranquillity in India ought to be their basis.

I have the honour to be, etc.

C² 86, f. 04-06v°.

Letter from M. de Montaran, to M. de Bussy in India,

February 16, 1755.

Sir,

I am in receipt, of the duplicate of your letter from Aurangabad of the month of December 1753. It conformed with that which you wrote to the Minister and the Company, and we have all been extremely happy with it, except the reasons which determined you to take in your name the paravana of the Four Districts ceded by Salabat Jang for the maintenance of the troops. As the letter from the Company explain themselves on this point, I shall not speak to you anything about it. Besides, it appears to me that they (the authorities in France)

have been struck by the necessity to preserve troops with Salabat Jang at present, the utility to have fixed revenues to pay them instead of the uncertain assignment on the farmers and the facility to collect these revenues by defending the only pass of Vijaywada, behind which these districts are situated and protected from attacks. It is already more than a year that I had explained here the necessity to support Salabat Jang, and they had completely agreed with me on this point. I, therefore, think that your letters have only had the effect to confirm (what they have already accepted) and that they will not henceforward think otherwise. The points of view of India and those of Europe are different. Moreover, on the immense expanse of our concessions, it is not possible to follow a middle course between their entire preservation and their total restitution. At what point will stop this middle course? It is difficult to determine it. It will depend on much local knowledge which we lack and perhaps also on different circumstances of negotiations which are treated in Europe between the two crowns of France and England on different objects, infinitely important. We must patiently await the King's orders which will be certainly dictated by the general welfare of the State of which the Company forms an essential part. But in the meantime, it is always good to put ourselves in a situation not to be ruled by others and consequently, preserve our possessions old as well as new and maintain our credit with the powers of the country.

This is sufficient on the general affairs. Let us now speak of those which are personal to you. I wrote to you in the month of August and I pointed out to you that it was quite just that we should think here of your affairs whilst you were occupied with those of the Company in the Deccan. I do repeat to you today that I shall be delighted to be useful to you here in something. You could not have placed your affairs in better hands than in those of M. Marion, prudent as well as attached to your interests. We have only one dispute together; it is that he is always afraid of not doing sufficiently well. I shall admit to you that you have put him here in quite an embarrassing situation, having very little funds which he could dispose and not having any right to demand from M. de Bacquencourt the funds which his uncle must have remitted to him on your

account. I shall even confess to you that, that embarrasses is in the matter of the acquisition which you desire that we should make in this country. But we must have money in our hands for that purpose, and you cannot do better than remit the funds here in bills of exchange on Paris or on London to the order of M. Marion or in his absence to mine. In the meantime, we shall do our best to help with those which are actually in the hands of M. Marion and with those which he might obtain from M. de Bacquencourt who, I hope, will be in a position to remit a sum of 7,00,000 to 8,00,000 francs. At least he has promised it to us. We are even going to take steps for a purchase as soon as he gives us some surety in this respect. I could never finish the purchase of the Marquisate of Le Bouchet; its situation midway between Paris and Fontainebleau and the vicinity of my estate of Beaurepaire made me ardently desire, that I shall go in for this purchase. We are actually negotiating that of the Marquisate of Sandricourt, worth 4,00,000 francs and odd at a distance of 40 to 45 Km. from Paris and that of La Taur de Montlevrier and dependencies in Anjou. The latter can go up to a million or about. If we decide for the latter which is beautiful and solid, that will not subsequently prevent us from looking for a small pleasure estate in the vicinity of Paris. We shall perhaps next think of a mansion. But send us funds because they will always be latter utilised here than elsewhere.

I have met your brother several times since he is in Paris. He himself took the trouble to go with M. Dousset, my first secretary, to the estate of Sandricourt, and we consult him with all the greater pleasure as he is a very prudent boy and full of wit, who has acquired here a very good and well-deserved reputation. I am a witness of the favourable manner in which M. Le P. De Soubise and M. Le Marechal de Belisle think of him. I hope to be in a position to communicate to you something more positive about the general affairs as well as about your personal ones, before the departure of the last vessel for Pondichery and I shall be delighted to profit by all the occasions to keep up a regular correspondence with you. I also request you to write to me on all the occasions.

I have the honour to be, etc.

I forgot to reply, Sir, to your letter of the 30th of December which was delivered to me by Monsieur Le Marquis de Conflans. Have no doubts that I shall always be delighted to set off your services. But do not loose patience. This is not here the moment to obtain the military grades. The established rules stand in the way. When your mission is over, you must think of returning to France and obtain the grade of a Colonel attached to a regiment. That is the only way to maintain yourself in service and next obtain much higher grades. Trust me, I shall guide you to the best of my ability and serve you likewise.

As for the return of M. de Conflans, I have nothing to say. But your letters have created all the effect which you could expect. I do not think that he knows sufficiently about the affairs to be able to say more than them (the letters), and sometimes credit magnifies from a distance. Moreover, I do him justice by painting out to you that he is serving you personally as best as he can.

C² 86, f. 09-26

Copy of a letter from M. de Bussy to M. de Montaran.

Hyderabad, September 15, 1755.

Sir,

I am in receipt of your kind letter of the 17th of June 1754. I can, therefore, flatter myself that I have in France a patron whose very name speaks in my praise. The esteem, with which you honour me, compensates me abundantly for all the harm which jealousy, by the malignancy of its shafts, could do me in Europe. I cannot better reply to the pleasing marks with which your letter is filled than by a boundless confidence. Please accept my most sincere protestations of it.

The advice, which you are kind enough to give me, is as things turned out, already put into execution. That is of what I am going

to inform you a little at length and communicate to you the dispositions in which I am recently. Allow me, Sir, to speak to you with an open heart and satisfy my devouring ambition to deserve your esteem, your confidence and your affection.

The need I had indeed of a rest had led me two years back to make up my mind to go and join my mother-country. A very serious illness, as you know it, had obliged me to proceed to Machchalipatnam. Hardly had I recovered than the entreaties of M. Dupleix and the public weal urged me to charge myself with a burden under which I was several times about to succumb.

When he was preparing to leave for Europe, I found myself struggling against two opposite ravings which devided my thoughts for a long time. On the one hand, I felt naturally inclined to follow the destiny of M. Dupeix to whom I owed much, delighting in sharing his disgrace (My attachment and my gratitude are blindness with respect to those who have once honoured me with their esteem. This is, Sir, my way of thinking.). Moreover, I had imagined quite a sad future, because, I was no more sure of finding this confidence which had softened the pains and calmed the anxieties of the dangerous and difficult expedition, I added to the difficulties of the affairs the aversion and the perplexities of a labour almost always dangerous and often disapproved. The parallel I made of the way of thinking and behaving of M. Dupleix in whom I had discovered the disposition of a friend with the authority of a superior, a combination which is unknown, presented before me an addition of labours and difficulties the yoke of which appeared to me unbearable. To all these reflections I added such a natural desire to go and enjoy the fruit of so many labours in the bosom of my family, the desire which has lost nothing of its first ardour and which is balanced only by the motive of interests of my nation to which I know how to sacrifice what is dearest to me.

Yes, Sir. The interests of the Company alone inseparable from those of the State, stood in the way of my desires and started within myself a struggle between aversion and zeal. I saw that in this country where everything is personal, M. Dupleix, whom the Asiatics had believed as irremovable in the post which he occupied, being dispossessed,

if I retired, it was all over with the authority and the glory of the French name in India. Our rivals who proclaimed my retirement as a sequel of the fall of M. Dupleix (who, they said and wrote everywhere, had been recalled to Europe in fetters) gave the people to understand that I was also arrested as well as all those who had a share in the present affairs, that these changes were made by the order of the King of England who had obliged that of France to recall M. Dupleix with interdiction to the French to hence forward oppose those whom he protected, from which assumption it was concluded generally that the protection of the former was superior and preferable to that of the latter. In short, it was everywhere nothing but indecent talks and ignominy.

You can realise, Sir, what impression all these talks could make in the Deccan where our antagonists were preparing to replace us, which endeavour would not have been difficult for them. This change would have been the period of the total ruin of our affairs. I shall dispense with narrating here all the proofs which speak for themselves, whether we consider the jealous envy of our rivals, or whether we take into consideration the greedy vengeance of the Asiatics on those from whom they have no longer anything to fear or hope.

The zeal for the other-country already triumphed over the reluctance, but its victory, still imperfect, needed to be supported and strengthened by assurances which, while dispelling my alarms, would confirm to me this earlier liberty to act which had so far contributed to my tranquillity as well as to my successes. I wrote about it to the Commissioner-General, I communicated to him the irresolute state in which I was, the cause of my irresolution not being anything else but the uncertainty to know of I would have share in his confidence and if I would be obliged to fight more often his prejudices than the enemies of the State, I mean of Salabat Jang. I requested him to explain himself frankly. He did it in terms which did not leave for me anything to be desired and confirmed to me all the powers which I previously had.

What M. de Godeheu wrote to me was more than sufficient to induce me to run the risks of a career in which lack of liberty to act and the fear of the reverses the misfortunes of which would be

imputed to me, are the only obstacles to the success of the enterprises. But I was soon in the same perplexities when I heard of his departure without knowing who would replace him, and the application to the affairs assumed fresh ardour only when the Commissioner, while himself communicating to me his return to Europe, informed me that M. de Leyrit was to be at the head of the French in India.

I was happy to recall that I had the honour to be known to him and that I could claim to his confidence and his friendship.

For a long time, Sir, fortune no more incites my desires. They all combine today to earn your esteem; it will be for me an object of consolation capable of soothing the labours and the fatigues of the painful career which I have been following for 5 years. Please honour with your attention an abridged picture which I am going to trace for you of it.

Independently of the dangers inseparable from the military profession to which I am attached by the State, I find myself in the midst of traitors and assassins who all put on appearances of the most sincere friendship. I must always be on my guard against intrigues and cabals without, however, disclosing any mistrust, which would indispose the persons and banish any overture on their part. The traps, which an Asiatic lays, are all the more difficult to be perceived and avoided as they are covered with a veil of an ardent zeal for your interests of which he is seeking the ruin unaware of a common one, everyone seeks his private one and tries to raise himself by intrigues, factions and treachery. I shall be sufficiently compensated for all the risks. I have run and all the fatigues I have suffered, if my successes can deserve the approval of the Minister, of the Company and yours, Sir. It is not riches which I seek. My labours have indeed contributed to my fortune which I do not repent having utilized for the support of (State) affairs. This circumstance ought to be an additional title to win the consideration and the rewards which I desire and which will flatter me all the more as I shall obtain them through your recommendation. I resume the detail of the cares and difficulties attached to the mission with which I am charged.

The Marathas, a restless nation, seek only trouble. One must hold them in check as much through negotiation as through fear. As for the Mughals, as they are less enterprising, more proud and more artful, they are nevertheless difficult to bring round to the desired end, and if you do not succeed in dominating them, that is to say, make yourself indispensable you become an object of their contempt. So many diverse interests so difficult to reconcile, of which you must be the arbitrator in spite of the jealousy, so to say, enchain you. It is a constant application, a study of the private interests, this great motive power behind all the intrigues. It is every day a fresh scene in which you must play your role, without which you run the risk of being a dupe of it. Affability, haughtiness, threats, promises, pride, sometimes an open look, at other times an artful look, this is what constitutes, in torn, the scenery of the theatre. Add to this labyrinth the secret intrigues of our antagonists who have attempted, and are still leaving no stone unturned, to destroy the credit and the authority of the (French) nation in the Deccan. They have pushed arrogance (as I have said it above) so far as to insinuate that the changes that have taken place in our government were the effect of the authority of the King of England on ours. They did not succeed in their insinuation, it is true, but there remains some impression of it which it is difficult to efface. I can say, without being charged with boasting, that on two conspicuous occasions, I have saved the honour of the nation and prevented the ruin, perhaps total, of the Company. The first occasion the former by returning to the Deccan, after the illness which had forced me to leave it, where, although the army had remained such I had left it, and at the same strength, the French had fallen into ignominy and contempt as a result of the human nature which is the characteristic of the Asiatics with whom, when the chief falls, everything falls with him; honour, reputation, glory, possessions and advantages. It is this fatal downfall which threw me into the affairs and did not permit me to enjoy the rest for which I was longing.

The intrigues of the English and their supporters at the arrival of M. de Godeheu furnished me the second occasion. That is, however, just a sample of the mental and physical pains and the continuous fatigues, which I had to undergo. It requires a more animated sketch,

These fatigues had twice put me at the door of death, and at the very time when I appeared to reach my last hour, I had to march. These are the daily marches, in spite of the severity of the climate in the times of most intense heat, which ruin the most robust health. Although my fortune enabled me to procure many comforts, I could not still enjoy them. Many a times I lack comforts which a common man thinks he cannot do without, meals prepared in haste, always at the mercy of the inclement weather, passing suddenly from the intense heat of the burning sun to all the discomforts which storms and inundations bring about. This has been my life for the last five years. I shall not expatiate on this detail which might bore you. I undertook it in order to open my heart to you so that you should discern its innermost depths.

The uninterrupted successes which have crowned my expedition, I shall not attribute them either to chance or to the effect of a lucky star, a chimerical term which expresses only arbitrary or false ideas. But I attribute them to the confidence with which Messrs. Dupleix and Godeheu and M. de Leyrit honoured me, to the liberty which I had to take decisions without being held responsible for the failures. That is undoubtedly the source and the basis of so many successes. It is flattering for me that they should have a reason to congratulate themselves on not having put any limits on this confidence.

If your kindness, Sir, should be the fruit of my labours, I shall consider myself well rewarded if your esteem, which today fixes my desires, is assured to me. I am happy ; I leave to your generosity the care to have my services recognised in Europe. The report, which you will make of them, will give them a lustre which will set off their merit, I revert to the affairs.

After establishing tranquillity and order in our Four Districts under mortgage, I set off to rejoin Salabat Jang.

When I arrived at the army of the Nawab, I found the persons still quite occupied with the departure of M. Dupleix. The impression, which it had created, had somewhat slackened off. But they had not recovered from the disadvantageous suspicions to which the change in government had given rise. My return reassured those who were

wavering between sentiments of esteem and aversion for the French. That was only a small prelude to the embarrassments of this campaign. Another issue soon exposed me to questions which multiplied every day and to which I could give only vague replies for fear of going too far and compromising the reputation of integrity on which all my credit and authority in the Deccan is founded. It was the treaty which was being negotiated between Pondicherry and Madras. Our rivals managed to back out its articles (true or false) which announced a series of results as dishonourable for the French as contrary to the interests of the Nawab. The noblemen of the Darbar were carrying to the politics as a result of the reports which were being spread, either malicious or conjectural. Schemes were formed and I was held responsible for everything. Several assemblies were held in which the affairs of Arcot were hotly discussed. I repeat here the extract of my letter of the 8th February to M. Godeheu on this subject.

"In consequence of the orders, which you have given me by your letter of the 16th January to communicate to Salabat Jang the suspension of arms and the cessation of all hostilities between the French and the English and their respective allies, I went to his palace yesterday for this purpose accompanied by Messrs Law and Duplan. Hardly did I make the first opening to him than he interrupted me to remind me of the engagements which the French had made to him".

"Your King", he said to me, "had promised to support me against my enemies, establish my authority and have it respected. You yourself had given me the assurances of it on which I relied. However, I understand from many quarters that the King of the English has taken cognizance of the affairs of India and even of those which concern me."

The English," I replied, "jealous of our successes are leaving no stone unturned to stop their course. They took the cause of Muhammad Ali Khan to have a pretext to make war on us and see to it that we were detached from you by enticing us into the Carnatic, force us to fail in our engagements and make us loose your friendship of which we have always tried and we shall always try to tighten the bonds. To justify their crime, they have had recourse to still

greater excesses. They have spread the report that you are not the legitimate Subhedar of the Deccan and that we were supporting only an usurper. We would not have failed to check their audacity if we could have united our forces against them. But anxious to keep of the promise which we had given you to support you against your enemies, affirm and have your authority respected, we were afraid of failing in these solemn engagements if we had quitted you to go to the succour of the Carnatic. Thus,, it is only to this scrupulous honesty in which our nation glories that the English owe their successes in this province. They waited all their forces there and we were obliged to divide ours. They had only one army to maintain, we have always had two, one to face and another to remain with you”.

“I do not complain”, resumed the Nawab, “that you have failed in your promise to me. But finally what are the arrangements which you have made for the province of Arcot”?

“In order to terminate once for all”, I told him, “the troubles which divide the the two nations, the Kings of France and England (I used the names of the Kings of France and England because the Asiatics have no idea of what the Companies of the two nations are) wanted to be informed of the real causes which have occasioned and which continue the troubles. It is to take note and render an account to our King that M. de Godeheu came to India. On the instructions which he will give, will be concluded a solid peace which will assign to each one what is due to him and the place which he must occupy in India. Whilst waiting for this decision, the belligerent parties are ordered to lay down the arms and leave things in the state in which they are at present. Thus, all hostilities will cease between the English and the French and their allies until the final reply received from their respective Kings.”.

“You surprise me much,” said the Nawab, “with what right and by what justice does the King of England (whose subjects have been dsturbing my territory for the last years by supporting a vagabond who is perhaps a simple trooper and depriving me thereby of the revenues of large province) authorise the men of his nation to thwart me and double with my affairs which I had entrusted to yours. What do you mean By the term ‘allies’?”.

"By 'allies' we mean," I replied to him, "those with whom one is united to make war as we are united with you to fight those who will request to recognise your authority. It is thus that the English are united with Muhammad Ali Khan to help him to seize the province of Arcot by force of arms. That is what gave the ground to the French, your allies, to make war with the English to support your authority against the rebel Muhammad Ali Khan whom they supported in the capacity of his allies. It is this war of which the operations have just been suspended until our respective Kings terminate it completely by a solid peace established on the rules of equity?."

"I understand you," said Nawab, "that is to say that you equate me with Muhammad Ali Khan. They may not be aware in Europe, but you are aware that I never employed Muhammad Ali Khan, that in case I had done it, it could only be in the capacity of a farmer whom I could revoke, place elsewhere or leave him without employment if I judge it proper. I believe, or I am very much mistaken, that he is considered in Europe as a Prince to whom the Carnatic belongs by right. It is an error on their part. It would be a folly on his if he had the slightest doubt about it. It is of what I cannot accuse him since on every occasion, he does not give me any other title than that of his master and requests me to receive him with favour. In short, he knows well that he is only a simple trooper, as you have seen here his elder brother Maphus Khan, who deserves to lose his head because of all the troubles which he has created."

"The error, in which the Europeans may be," I replied, "cannot do the slightest harm to your rights. You know sufficiently well that the French, far from drawing a parallel between you and Muhammad Ali Khan, have always declared themselves as his enemies and have considered him only as a rebel. They will never consider him except as such until he is placed in your hands?"

"But if I descend some day into the Carnatic," replied the Nawab, "to set order in it, if I want to expel Muhammad Ali Khan from it, and appoint a governor of my choice, the English will oppose it. If they oppose it, you will remain quiet because of this suspension of arms, you will not lend me succour either against Muhammad Ali Khan

or against the English. Is it not the real sense of your words ? However, you know it that the state of my affairs necessarily demands the succour of Europeans. I cannot do without, it, either I must put the English in my interests or you must remain there. Are you prepared to continue to me the services which you have rendered me ? I have been well served so far ; I render you this justice. But now, you have no longer either the power or the will for it."

This treaty, of which the Darbar had, I do not know by what means, several copies in Persian, has produced two very different effects in the Council of the Nawab. It considers first the authority which the English usurp in the country as a crime which deserves all its indignation. But at the same time it considers the readiness with which the French acquiesce in it as a weakness and a forced dependence which turn to our frame by belying the idea they had formed of our nation.

Could I tell you to what degree revolts them the idea to see passing into the hands of the English a part of these concessions given as a pure gift and for ever by the Nawab and confirmed by the Emperor, his master, in recognition of the services which the nation has rendered to that of the Mughals and in particular to Salabat Jang ? If it comes to that, in the end, it will be, let us have no doubt about it, the signal of a war of which we cannot be peaceful spectators without dishonouring ourselves and renouncing all the possessions in India. That is what I have fully narrated in my letters to M. Godeheu. If reasons, which they cannot foresee (I mean the Mughals) prevented them from adopting this course, they would be forced to follow quite an opposite one, of which the ruin of the French in India would be a necessary sequel. They would send to Muhammad Ali Khan the paravana of the governor of the province of Arcot and would ally themselves with the English on whom they know that Muhammad Ali Khan depends as a slave. They would even conciliate them in order to obtain the revenues of this province through them. for, the Darbar knows the arrangements which the English have made with Muhammad Ali Khan. It knows that the latter by means of an honest subsistence for him and his family is forced to abandon to them the collection and the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic.

This is the motive which will urge the Nawab to attach himself to them if he is not in a position to force them to return to their duty and if we abandon everything.

But they proposed a third course which was to punish Muhammad Ali Khan and humble the English. In case they cannot derive any advantage from our alliance on this subject, they will ally themselves with Balajirao who will seize the occasion with all the greater pleasure as he will think of assuring for himself thereby the right of Chauthai of this province.

Judge, Sir, how the situation, in which I was, was critical and embarrassing. But the ascendancy which I have over the Mughal nation has obviated everything. However, preparations were being made for the expedition of Mysore. I communicated it to the Commissioner-General whose reply tended only to cleverly, dissuade the Nawab from this design, however, ordering me to follow him if he persisted in this project. (Was there any room to hesitate?) The execution of the plan which he prescribed to me in case this expedition took place, was impracticable. I made to him on this subject as on all the other affairs, which I had to treat with him, representations as firm as respectful by giving him all the knowledge and information which a long experience had furnished me (it is what I can say I alone to possessed in India) and which proved the fallacy of the dangerous counsels which persons little in the know of the affairs of the Deccan proposed to give him. The latest letters which I wrote to him on the occasion of the expedition of Mysore reached (their destination) only after his departure.

I would have very much liked to treat with the Mysorians for the sums which are claimed from them. But I did not know either the amount or the conditions. I, therefore, could not profit by the circumstances to obtain some partial payment from the Raja. This step exposed me to extremities for which I was not sufficiently authorised, as the Commissioner-General had not thought it proper to give me full powers for this purpose which I had asked from him by my letter of the 29th November. Once this affair was initiated, I had to terminate it. Either the Raja of Mysore would have accepted the proposal which I would have made to him or he would have rejected

it. I could not anticipate the first possibility ; he would not have failed to bring against me the sums which he was then obliged to pay to the Nawab. He would have put forward the conditions, to which the French had pledged themselves, to deliver to him Tiruchchirappalli and of which he expected the execution, and the useless expenses which he had incurred on this subject.

In the second hypothesis in which he would have rejected my demands, everything required that I should employ the means to force him to comply with them. Then I become responsible for the rupture which could have ensued from it. If an objection is raised that I ran the same risks while working for the Nawab, it is not difficult to notice the difference. I am authorised and obliged to follow and serve Salabat Jang according to his views in all that concerns his interests of which the failure cannot concern either me or the nation.

The Emperor then wrote to Salabat Jang on the subject of the expedition of Mysore. Here is the extract of his letter.

"Your humble petition has reached the feet of my throne, etc. I have noticed that after assembling the forces of the Deccan combined with those of the French, your protectors and my friends, you are marching towards the Krishna and that your plan is to enter Mysore to collect the tributes. I have given orders to the Vazir-el-mulk to send you the accounts of the perfidious Jagdev Raj, zamindar of Mysore. I order you by this letter to receive the amount to the lost annas and send it to me, which act would induce me more and more to shower my favours on you, etc."

In the meantime, there occurred another negotiation on the part of Murarrao whose design was to form an alliance with me, obtain the farming of Shire or Shirpy from the Nawab and urge him to prevent Balajirao from ever penetrating into the Carnatic. He proposed an offensive league to which he invited all the Maratha chiefs to humble the power of the Balajirao, if they could not succeed in destroying him. In his turn, Balajirao, informed of, or suspecting, the designs of Murarrao, declared that he would break the peace if his (Murarrao's) Vakil was admitted to the presence of the Nawab or of mine. I was, however very happy to profit by these circumstances to urge Murarrao

to desist from his claims against the nation. So many diverse interests were very difficult to be reconciled. I could not have recourse to the enlightenment of M. Godeheu who had announced to me his departure by ordering me to correspond with the Committee which he had set up to administer the affairs until the arrival of M. De Leyrit. This departure plunged me again in the earlier embarrassments, in which I had been on the occasion of that of M. Dupleix, to reply to the interrogations of the Darbar, which the kind of confusion which reigned amongst us, gave it the occasion to put to me.

The Committee depositary of the authority of the King and the Company, charged with settling the affairs of the Deccan, of which it did not possess all the possible knowledge, was composed of Messrs. Barthelemi, Boileau and Guillard. These gentlemen soon informed me of their charge enjoining me to communicate everything to them in order, they said to give me orders according to the circumstances. I was a little surprised that they should get ready to give me orders and rules of conduct on affairs of which they could have never combined the advantages and the disadvantages. Nevertheless; I complied with the order which I had received, requesting them to communicate to me their advance in the labyrinth of intrigues into which I was plunged, on the cabals which I had to dissipate, on so many contrary interests which I had to reconcile, on the accidents to be foreseen, on the alliances to be placated and formed, as M. Godeheu had recommended to me, in short, on all sorts of difficulties to be surmounted to support the affairs. I added my conjectures and my views on those of Arcot and the conduct which it was advisable that I should adopt vis-a-vis the Darbar. To all that, M. Barthelemy, in the name of all, replied to me as follows.

"The Committee has taken note of all the letters which you have addressed to M. Godeheu and to others, and if it has not so far replied to all the items of these same letters, it is because they appeared to it so ticklish to take a fixed decision. M. De Leyrit, who will certainly be more authorised than we are, will explain himself plainly on all the matters in question."

What was I supposed to do after this declaration? I am thus made responsible for all the events, as I do not know any longer to whom

to address myself. Honour and the interests of the nation will thus depend on the conduct which I shall adopt. It will be the same as that which I have adopted so far, and I venture to expect successes from it which will extract praises even from my enemies. That is about what I have not to take to you without omitting a single incident.

Finally, the Nawab's army arrived on the frontiers of Mysore. This expedition terminated in a manner as glorious to the French name as advantageous for the Nawab and the Mysorian. At the time of his departure, M. de Godeheu had recommended to me to tighten the bonds of alliance of Salabat Jang with the French without forgetting Balajirao and the other princes of the country. It was to our advantage to placate the Mysorian also for the affairs of Arcot. To conciliate so many diverse interests. I had tried to dissuade the Darbar of Salabat Jang from undertaking this expedition. But I saw that by opposing it, I ran the risk of losing the credit which the nation had at the Court of the Nawab. There was no room for hesitation between the sovereign and the subject. Moreover, the treaty of donation of the 4 Districts for the maintenance of the army, required that I would follow Salabat Jang in all his expeditions without exception. Besides all that was said in the Council, this sovereign alleged that our arrangements in the province of Arcot, having rendered him powerless, in our opinion, to act against Muhammad Ali Khan as an ally of the English, we certainly wished his ruin by preventing him from collecting his tributes from his vassals, especially from that of Mysore because he was our ally. He wrote me a letter which I attach to all the documents which you have herewith. However, in spite of what this sovereign had represented to me orally and in writing, I had succeeded to the point of terminating this affair without entering the territory of Mysore. We were not to cross shirpy which is a dependency of the Nawab. The usual tribute was to be brought there and the army was not to penetrate further. But the Raja of Mysore ardently solicited the Nawab to proceed and camp under the walls of his capital, and this is why.

At that time there was on the opposite frontier a corps of troops of 35,000 to 40,000 cavalry detached by Balajirao, which, to penetrate into Mysore and commit ravages there, waited only for the decision

which the Nawab would take either to himself penetrate or stop at the frontiers. We, therefore, complied with the solicitations of the Raja of Mysore. The Marathas, as it had been foreseen, withdrew. Thus, without firing a shot, everything terminated to the satisfaction of the Nawab who received the tribute which the Mysorian owed him. In his turn, the Raja was delighted to have been delivered of the incursion of the Marathas. However, the Nawab absolutely wanted to profit by this occasion, to take back from the Raja of Mysore all the territory and fortresses which he had seized from the district of Shirpy since the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk and during the troubles, which claim forms a very large object.

In addition, the Nawab wanted to oblige this Raja to come and pay him a homage in person as the Subhedar of the Deccan. But at my pressing solicitations, Salabat Jang desisted from these two demands, and things remained as they were. During our sojourn at Srirangapatan, a son was born to the Raja whom he placed under my protection and to whom I induced the Nawab to grant the fortress of Dasseota and its dependencies in Jahgir, which brings more than two lakhs of revenue from the district of Shirpy. It is Hyder Jang, son of the ex-governor of Machchalipatnam, who is attached to the nation and particularly to me, whom I sent to perform this ceremony. The child was placed on his laps and he placed in his neck a neckless of pearls worth Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 7,000. This is what I did for the Raja, which fact is known to the whole Deccan and for which he had shown me all sorts of satisfaction. In his turn, the Nawab is not less satisfied to see his finances a little re-established by the sums which the Raja of Mysore has paid him. It is easy for you Sir, to judge of my embarrassments from all these details which I have given you, and whether I have been able to reconcile the interests of our two allies in this expedition which has terminated to the satisfaction of the Nawab without alienating the Mysorian as M. Godeheu feared it, by even drawing closer the bonds of alliance with this Raja by a project of which the rainy season did not permit the execution and which can take place during the next campaign and throw ten to twelve lakhs in the treasury of the Company. But the scene is so changing in this country that one can count on the execution of a project only at the moment when one undertakes it.

When the affair of Mysore was being settled, M. De Leyrit arrived at Pondicherry. It was time that he should appear there. Profiting by the interregnum and misusing the treaty, the English seized 200 villages without any other right than a simple statement that they depended on their possessions. M. De Leyrit assumed a tone of firmness without, however, going to extremities with them. This new Governor does not appear to be in a mood to submit to the law of the English. On the eve of his departure, M. Godeheu had charged me, with supporting the affairs till the news from Europe arrived, while repeating to me by his letter of the 22nd January the promise to set off my services before the Minister and the Company. These are his words:

"I ardently wish that you finish your career with all the advantage which I desire for you. I shall see to it that it is as fruitful as you ought to expect it in view of the long period of your labours and their importance. I shall be delighted, Sir, to meet you some day in France and form there with you a more personal acquaintance and express to you all the sentiments of esteem and full of sincerity, etc."

M. de Leyrit, whose tone is not less pleasing, wishes to be informed of everything, and prefers sentiments and views based on experience and the knowledge of the local place to his personal reflections. He appears very much disposed, as I have said it, to oppose the enterprises of the English firmly and wishes to be in a position to support, if it was necessary, a state of war. But he lacks funds, and he would like to find them elsewhere than in the treasury of the Company. That is to what I am going to work although a deadly blow has been dealt to the credit of the French by disowning loans which the chief of the nation had taken, as personally known to those that of India as was M. Dupleix, and by referring the credit to him. The Asiatics, who are certainly very enlightened on their interests, have come to this peremptory conclusion in matter of credit: if the successor of M. Dupleix does not acknowledge either his loans or his treaties, the one who will follow him, will adopt the same language, from which assumption it is concluded that there is neither honesty nor surety with the French. I have suffered from it and I think that we shall suffer from it for a long time. This is the epoch of the refusal of all the bankers to enter into any dealing with us, While they offer any credit to the English and

the Dutch. Could we not, Sir, with gentle words, without paying anything, maintain the confidence by owning the debts which M. Dupleix had incurred. Hope which would have been given to the creditors to satisfy them would suffice to support the reputation and the credit. Thus, to procure some funds for M. de Leyrit, I can say it, my personal credit is the only resource which is left to me, for, that of the nation, it is, as I have said it above, buried under the ruins. You perhaps know that all my funds are employed in the affairs. Besides those which M. Dupleix had in his hands when I returned to the Deccan, I left a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 with M. de Moracin as a deposit, the only resource which I had reserved for myself and to which I earnestly requested him not to touch under any pretext whatsoever. These arrangements taken, I made no difficulty; I even made it a pleasure and duty to employ the rest of my fortune, which I carried with me, for the support of the affairs, and which constitutes the sums attested in the document marked A which you have herewith. Whilst the affairs obliged M. Dupleix to make use of my funds M. de Moracin, for the urgent needs of the Company, paid in the treasury of Machchalipatnam 32,000 gold pagodas from the deposit which I had entrusted to him. I asked for their payment from M. Godeheu or a bill of exchange on the Company, while requesting him to reply to me also for the sums which I had advanced in the Deccan and which I could still advance. Here is his reply to the first item by his letter of 22nd January: "You know, Sir, that with a Company, you must produce accounts differently from those with the individuals. Therefore, it is not possible for me to admit the two proposals which you have made to me for the payment of your 35,000 pagodas. You must produce accounts supported with documents, and I cannot dispose of otherwise the funds of the Company. But what I can promise you is to see on my arrival in France that you lose nothing, and the Company will be in a position to decide by itself on the account I shall render it of your services and your talents."

With regard to the second item, which are the advances made and to be made, this is his reply by his letter of 8th December: "Rest assured, Sir, that the Company will never wrong anyone when accounts are presented to it in order."

I have nothing to say on this item, because I shall never present to it others. But as for the first, I do not know that for the money lent, one must produce other documents than the acknowledgement and the bond of the borrower. It is true that M. de Moracin had forgotten to send him that of his Council with the extract of his letters on this subject which I enclose. M. de Leyrit has assured me the repayment of my advances from the revenues of Condavir, and I await his reply on the bill of exchange which I had asked from M. Godeheu. I have offered to M. de Leyrit these very funds of which he has granted me the repayment and have left him free to make use of them according to the circumstances to facilitate his operations on the only condition to assure me their credit on the Company to whose benefit I devote them, not demanding any interest as long as it will make use of this sum, provided it promises me its repayment in Europe when I shall require it. I have always considered myself as its child and have forgotten nothing to serve it usefully. Whatever the prejudiced minds may say about it they have seen in it only a sterile glory and a burden—the campaigns of the Deccan have not been unfruitful for it. The domains it possesses today are a proof of it and constitute all the expenses of several ships richly laden (even before we were in possession of Condavir). Before my departure from Pondicherry, it possessed only Machchalipatnam and Divy. Since then, M. Dupleix charged me with obtaining in some manner or the other (even at farm) the dependencies of Narsapur, Devracota, Nizampatnam, Condouvet, Almenar, etc. All these places which round off our domains and which, moreover, appear proper for commerce, I obtained them as a pure gift, and I received compliments for it, all the more flattering as M. Dupleix did not expect that I would succeed in this object.

Later on, it was judged that Condavir was a district the acquisition of which became very advantageous to the Company. At the same time as M. Dupleix wrote to me to sound the intentions of Salabat Jang on this subject, he pointed out to me that he doubted whether I could succeed in it. I received then from the Court of Delhi towards the end of the year 1752 the title of Hafthazari and Maymaratte. As it is the usage to assign to those who are raised to this rank, a suitable

jahgir, I spoke of Condavir which was offered to me personally. I had to offer the greatest opposition on my part to the plan of the Nawab who would not absolutely cede it except to me personally. My zeal for the Company did not flag on this occasion. I constantly refused the favour which the Nawab wished to confer on me ; it is the Company which is in possession of it. I have entered into all these details only to inform you of the various advantages which the army of the Deccan has procured to the Company and which I have treated at much greater length in a memorial which I addressed to it and to you, Sir, in last February. The person, who carried it, informs me that he had to make a halt at the Isles, as the ship could not double the Cape.

Thus, the result is that the glory of the French name has not been the only object of my campaigns, and if the nation and the Company had not acquired on the Orissa Coast what it has lost on that of Coromandel and if these advantages of the north do not balance those which our antagonists have had in the south, I ask where would be its affairs ? If actually the reputation of the French supports itself in spite of these reverses and these defects and the changes that have taken place in our government, if the nation, while losing its credit, has not fallen into ignominy, I can assert without labouring under a delusion that it is to the army of the Deccan that one is indebted for it. I shall still add that this army has never caused any expenses to the Company. It is quite true that the revenues of Condavir have served for a year for the payment of the debts with which it was charged. But this succour came from a district which belongs to it in such a manner, that the Company had never imagined that it could obtain or possess it and which it indeed owes to this army alone. I therefore, do not hesitate to say that I have fulfilled the whole scope of my mission which had two principal objects, one to procure to the Company, that is to say to the State solid advantages, the other to establish, support and affirm a Prince in the heritage of his ancestors. One might add to them a third one, which was also to establish the French solidly in the Deccan and with the Subhedar, whoever he may be render them indispensable to him and thereby process them and the acquisition of the districts earmarked for their salary, against the revolutions so usual in this government. The advantages which this

latter system offers are narrated in a memorial sent to France in 1752. That is the fruit of 5 years of incredible labours, during which I have sacrificed my youth, my rest and my tranquillity. Let the Company enjoy the fruits of my labours! It will be for me a nice and perceptible satisfaction, and even if jealous envy would cause my services to be ignored in Europe, one can never snatch away from me the glory of having usefully served my mother-country.

I am so overwhelmed with affairs and am writing this letter so many times that it is not possible for me to put order in what I am writing. Therefore, please, Sir, receive my ideas as they are presented.

The revolution, that took place at Delhi last year is maintained. Asaf Jha, son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan and nephew of Salabat Jang, who is the Vazir, governs the Empire and the Emperor despotically. This sovereign has recently won a complete victory over the Pathan Abdali (who must not be confused with a certain Abdali) or Adel Shah who thrice came as far as Lahore to seize the Empire and who has always been recalled to Persia by the troubles which arose there. The one in question and who has just lost his head was a rebel who had a large army and the same plan as Adel Shah. The Emperor, who had left Delhi, was to re-enter it only after visiting and setting order in his states. He hesitated over the decision to go first to Bengal or come to the Deccan. The Vazir, who is, as you know, nephew of Salabat Jang, wanted to conduct his master to the Deccan, unite his forces with those of the Subhedar and together reduce the Maratha power. On the contrary, the Emperor wanted to proceed to Bengal to collect before everything a Khazina which he absolutely lacks since the last revolution. In the meanwhile, Abdali advanced towards Lahore. The Vazir, without making any change in his designs, sent against him an army which was beaten, which determined the Emperor and the Vazir to march against this rebel in person. The action took place between Lahore and Delhi in which the Mughal had all the advantage. This sovereign has arrived at Agra where he expects to spend the rainy season. All the Rajputs of Hindustan have orders to join him in this place with their forces. The army of the Emperor, by the cares of the Vazir (a young man full of valour and capacity) is swelling out considerably and although his financial position is a little tight, he finds resources for the subsistence of this army, quite

numerous as it is. I can hardly tell you at present about the operations he proposes. All that will be decided during this winter. The great project, in my opinion, is to humble the Maratha power. But as it requires funds because war with this nation is very difficult and because moreover, the Subhedar of the Deccan is unable to furnish him any resources from this side (too happy to have himself found in this campaign the means to pay off the huge debts he owed to his troops), the Emperor might indeed put into execution the journey to Bengal or at least that to Pouroupe which he had already proposed to make. This soubha or government closely adjoins that of Bengal, and is in the possession of the son of the ex-Vazir Mansurali Khan, deadly enemy of the present one, and from whom he can draw big sums. On the contrary several persons affirm that as soon as the rains are over, the Emperor will immediately advance towards the territory of the Rajputs to put them back in possession of the districts which the Marathas have seized from them, especially to recover from Balajirao that of Malwa, a region with a big revenue to which the Narmada serves as a boundary on the side of the Deccan.

The Emperor might indeed stick to this project, and the Rajputs might furnish him, as it is reported, funds for this purpose. I often receive letters from all the Rajas, and you, can judge from all these documents which are attached herewith, what honour I or rather the nation enjoys at the Court of Delhi. The role which it plays in this part, becomes more brilliant and more important every day, and M. de Leyrit appears to take real interest in it, as you will see from some extracts of his letters.

I cannot help saying to you here a few words about the conduct which the English are adopting and about which M. de Leyrit will not fail to inform the Minister and the Company at length. They have aggrandised themselves, as I have mentioned it above, in spite of the treaties, have assigned a very modest sum to Muhammad Ali Khan and Maphus Khan, his brother, for their subsistence; the rest is left for them and serves to make serious preparations of war, as M. de Leyrit writes to me. They have proclaimed that they would thus favour anyone who would claim their protection. In concert with Muhammad Ali Khan or rather by borrowing his name, they had formed the design to make the Carnatic independent of the Deccan.

They approached Holkar to solicit this dismemberment from the Vazir. They sent him two elephants and other presents. Those, who were entrusted with this charge, having learnt about the return of Holkar, stopped on the way to demand fresh instructions, and I expect that they will not proceed further. I think that you will not be sorry to know who this Holkar is and by what degrees he has risen.

He began to appear on the scene in the capacity of a simple chieftain of some cavalry in the service of Balajirao's father on a salary of Rs. 100. He only lacked opportunities to rise. There occurred one by which he profited to make a reputation for himself which he has never belied. He was sent to Hindustan to help the Vazir Mansur Ali Khan and the Emperor to repulse the Pathans. His success covered him with glory and crowned him with riches. He was very much attached to Ghazi-ud-din Khan, brother of Salabat Jang. It was he who brought him against the latter to Aurangabad where he died without fulfilling his object. Holkar then returned to Hindustan laden with the riches of Ghazi-ud-din Khan the father, which he faithfully delivered to the son, and since then considered this young prince as his ward. Before his departure from Aurangabad, Salabat Jang and I had taken the precaution to get a promise from him under an oath that he would not bring Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the son, against Salabat Jang. He has been faithful to his word and his oath. I can even say in his praise that he has been on all occasions an admirable prodigy of honesty in a country in which it is hardly known. On his return to Delhi, he was not a little embarrassed. On the one hand, his oath bound him; on the other the ambition of young Ghazi-ud-din Khan who was second to none in that of his father, pressed him to break it and pressed him all the more earnestly to lead him to the Deccan as he had then quarrelled with the Emperor. Nevertheless, Holkar constantly resisted it because of the word he had given. But to compensate this prince for the claims which he induced him to abandon, he employed all sorts of intrigues and manoeuvres to procure for him the post of the Vazir by ousting Canekamun, his maternal uncle, who had succeeded Mansur Ali Khan. When Holkar met with insurmountable resistance from the Emperor, he would not accept a failure. After exhausting the usual means of politics, he had recourse to those of force. He fomented the revolution which took place; he plundered the camp Emperor Ahmed

Shah. This unfortunate Prince sought in vain his safety in his flight. Holkar chased him as far as Delhi where he accomplished the revolution. Ahmad Shah had his eyes put out, and Alamgir second of the name the reigning Emperor, was put in his place. Ghazi-ud-din Khan obtained the post of the Vazir and has preserved it since. It was quite natural that his gratitude should leave to Holkar all the authority with which he had been at first invested. But in Asia when one says gratitude, he uses an empty word and this virtue is less practiced in this country than in any other. By his intrigues, Ghazi-ud-din Khan, has so well managed that he has expelled Holkar, his benefactor. He arrived on the banks of the Narmada with Ragoba, Balajirao's brother, whom the latter had associated with Holkar. I revert to the affairs which concern us.

You can finally, Sir, present to the Minister this peace and this tranquillity which he desires. I speak of the part in which I am and of the affairs with which I am charged, for, I do not think that I am held responsible for the troubles of that in which I am not and where I have never been employed. Everything is also tranquil in our districts under mortgage and in the domains of the Company on the Orissa Coast. The possibility that our antagonists may undertake some military enterprises in this part, I cannot presume it unless there is an open war between the two nations. They are so convinced that they have no plausible reasons to thwart us in the possession of these domains that they have made and are perhaps still making, in Europe and very certainly in Asia all the imaginable efforts to make the affairs of this part common with those of Arcot. Many Frenchmen, out of ignorance or otherwise, have also confused that of the Deccan which I conduct with the troubles which the English have incited in the Carnatic, although there is no other connection than that of having prevented the complete ruin of our affairs in this part by my credit with the various powers which share the Deccan.

Salabat Jang is thus today solidly established and recognised by all the powers which could thwart him in the possession of the heritage of his forefathers. Since the last two years this solid peace has not been broken. There is even no likelihood that it would be disturbed by the revolutions quite common in the Asiatic government.

It is sad that for those, who are charged with an important mission in distant countries that the correspondence is not more frequent. The anxieties which certain embarrassing circumstances cannot fail to cause, would be soon dispelled. Moreover, the Mughal government does not admit of this tranquillity and this harmony which are found in the European governments. In Asia the same day sees the flames of war kindled and extinguished.

I shall not narrate to you here the detail of the advantages which peace in the Deccan and the actual situation of the French in this part procures to the Company for its trade and its domains. If there still remained some prejudice about the report which must have been made by M. Dupleix who knows better than anyone the true interests of the Company and of the State in India and about what I have myself said in the memorial which I have mentioned above, Messrs. Le Godeheu and de Leyrit whose commendation will not be suspect, will render an account of it to which I shall not add anything. If only assurance of peace in the Deccan is indeed necessary to give to my services some mark of approval, I can expect to receive little of it. The promise you give me raises my hopes again which are a little damped. I confess it to you because of the silence which is guarded with respect to me, and which circumstance appears only to announce the greatest indifference for my services and which would discourage any other person than a zealous servant of the King and the Company. However, to know all the ticklishness of my operations for the last 5 years, protect the interests of the Company and prevent the nation from falling into fetters of the English, will all that result in a conspicuous dishonour? Kings placed on the throne by my hands, supported by my forces, large armies put to flight, towns carried away by assault by my handful of men, treaties of peace concluded by my single mediation, guaranteed, kept and renewed by the mere fear of displeasing me, my alliance sought by all the powers of the Mughal Empire, my friendship purchased at the cost of riches and vast domains which the Company possesses, powerful ministers opposed to the interests of my nation removed and replaced at my will, employments and favours distributed by my favour and my channel, the honour of my nation carried to a point of glory which caused it to be preferred so for to all those of Europe, and the boundaries of the interests of

the Company carried beyond its expectations and even its desires. No, Sir, that cannot be believed and can be so only by demonstrative proofs. It would be very unfortunate if, after using my days, my youth and my temperament, the insinuations of some jealous and evil-minded people had prevailed over truth and made me lose in the mind of Minister and the Company the most precious fruit of my operations, which is the consideration which I thought I should deserve by the labours solely undertaken and constantly supported for its service.

They (those jealous of my fortune) have trumpeted, it is said to loudly my fortune in Europe. This point touches me deeply, since jealousy, which impudently spreads these reports, exaggerates my fortune only to diminish my glory. Besides, I ought to laugh at the indecent reports which they have spread and which they will probably still spread on my account. I pity them and abandon them to all their grief. One is very strong and one can assume a firm tone when one has behaved as I have always done. Would there be many Frenchmen in India who have made a fortune in six months, not such as envious eyes see it but sufficient to transform me from a State of mediocrity to that of comfort? How many would there be, I repeat it, who would have sacrificed it for the benefit of the affairs of the nation and Company during five years?

It is to your judgment, Sir, that I appeal against so many others begotten by malice or ignorance or by both at the same time. Let, therefore, the jealous think all that they like? The time which I am spending in this country is a real sacrifice which I am making for the public weal, especially in the present circumstances when the interests of my mother country are in peril. My fortune and my glory have no longer anything to gain in it. My constitution and my health have everything to lose in it. If the rewards are not granted for so many services, I no more know on what grounds can one expect them?

To agree with the views of the Minister and the Company, I presentend to M. Le Godeheu a project or an arrangement to turn to account the present advantages of the French in this part of India, of which a mention is made in the memorial referred to above, but which will perhaps reach too late. If after all that is contained in this arrangement and the memorial which precedes it, the Company

has still some sufficiently strong reasons to make an almost general abandonment of everything which it possesses on the Orissa Coast, I bow down and pay it a homage for a blind submission to its decrees, but I hope that the Company will finally close the eyes on illusions and open them only on its true interests. The situation in which it is today enables it to choose the tranquil possessions and follow the plan of which you speak to me in your letter.

Expressions fail me to express to you all the ardour of my gratitude for the attentions which you are kind enough to give to my personal affairs. M. Marion has informed me of the obliging manner in which you have replied to him on this subject. But unfortunately I am unable to send my funds to France. You will see from the documents, marked A, B, C, that all my fortune is employed for the welfare of the affairs, which ought to constitute, as I have said it elsewhere, an additional title to deserve the benevolence of the Minister and the Company. Grant me yours, Sir, I desire it too earnestly not to repeat to you the request for it. I aspire to the moment to go and enjoy the fruit of my pains and labours in the bosom of my mother country. I am occupied now, Sir, only in putting things just as you recommend it to me in a situation which may permit it to me. I owe everything to the Company, my rest, my health, my youth, everything in me is decoted to it. Let it accept my suecusses. I am sufficiently rewarded and however flattering for me may be the grades which I demand, they only honour me insomuch as they are reward of the services rendered.

Everything is in your hands, Sir, But please receive once again the protestations of the profound respect with which I remain etc.

P. S.: In case I recover some funds, do me the favour to tell me if I can send them to you in bills of exchange on the Company.

I received, Sir, your letter of the 16th of February at the moment when I was going to close this one. Imagine, if you can do so, how much I am touched by all the obliging things you say to me, and you will realise to what extent I am grateful. But there is no pleasure which is not mixed with bitterness. That which I enjoy at this moment would be too perfect if you were not to inform me that the reasons which had determined me to take in my name the paravana of the Four Districts under mortgage for the maintenance of our troops in

the Deccan, were not appreciated by the Minister and the Company. This is a misunderstanding which can arise only from what I have ill expressed. The honesty of intentions has never suffered slightest damage. The conduct which I adopted since the acquisition of the districts, is an undisputable proof of it. The form of the Mughal government and so many other circumstances urged me to do so, and I can say that these districts would become useless to us without that, especially because of the change in our government. We would not have obtained a farthing from the farmers, zamindars, palegars, etc. All these details are contained in my correspondence and a memorial which must have reached you and are a proof of it and justify me. In my opinion, it would be useless to repeat to you what is fully narrated (in them).

If it was agreed about two years ago on the necessity to have troops with Salabat Jang, for a stronger reason must we be convinced by all the arguments advanced in these documents (to do so). One of the strongest and which will be convincing, if one remembers English faith and if one informed like me of all the secret intrigues is that no sooner shall we quit the place than, in spite of the most solemn treaties, our rivals will leave no stone unturned to seize it, and they will succeed in it with all the greater ease as the Mughals cannot hence forward do without the succour of the Europeans. That is of what M. Godeheu did not appear convinced. You can well imagine, Sir, the use they would make of their with regard to us, if they ever carried it to the point at which ours is. We must hope that the eyes of Europe will shun illusion and pursue nothing but truth, and no more have but the same object with those of India. The local knowledge, which I have communicated to the Governors of India, could have furnished much enlightenment which they (the authorities in France) lacked. But nothing will be more advantageous to the welfare of the affairs than to consult the wisdom of M. Dupleix. He ought to be considered as the living history of India, and except for a few personalities, as the most faithful which one can have.

I terminate, Sir by the principal object (before my eyes), that of the gratitude which I owe you. By what means, I solicit you, have I been able to deserve your esteem and your affection to such a pitch as you express it to me? I have no more any anxieties about my

affairs, since you are kind enough to declare yourself as their patron. I esteem and love M. Marion exceedingly since he has found the secret to win your favour. His wisdom and his attachment to my interests have always rendered his friendship precious to me. But the testimony you offer to his qualities gives them quite a different value.

C² 86, f. 233-235.

Extract of a letter written to M. Dupleix, Governor-General of the French establishments in India by M. de Bussy, Commander of the troops for the East India Company, from Hyderabad, September 15, 1755.

My first letters to M. de Leyrit have destroyed his prejudices and led him to assume a completely pleasing tone. He wishes to be informed of everything and prefers sentiments and views founded on experience and knowledge of the local situation to his personal reflections. He appears very much disposed, as I have said it, to firmly oppose the enterprising audacity of the English and to be prepared for any emergency to support, if it was necessary, a state of war. But he lacks funds and he would like to find them elsewhere than in the treasury of the Company. That is to what I shall endeavour, although a mortal blow has been dealt to the credit of the French by disowning the loans which you had taken and referring the debt to you. The Asiatics, who are certainly very enlightened on their interests, have arrived at this simple and final inference in the matter of credit: if the successor of M. Dupleix does not acknowledge either his loans or his agreements, he, who will follow him, will speak the same language, from which circumstance they conclude that there is neither honesty nor security with the French. I have suffered from it and I think that we will suffer from it for a long time. This is the period of the refusal of all the bankers to enter into any dealings with us. That is so true that I could never persuade them to send 1000 pagodas, pleading that they neither had nor wished to have an agent at Pondicherry, whilst they offer any credit to the English and the Dutch. Could we not, Sir, with nice words, without paying anything, restore the confidence by owning the debts contracted by the Head of a nation as personally

known to those in India as you were, Sir. The hope, which would have been given to the creditors to satisfy them, was sufficient to maintain the reputation and the credit. Therefore, to obtain some funds for M. de Leyrit, I venture to say it, my personal credit is the only resource which I possess, for, as for that of the nation, it is, as I have said it above, buried under its ruins. You know better than anyone that all my funds are invested in business, except those which you have in your hands. When I returned to the Deccan, I left a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 with M. de Moracin as a deposit, the only resource I reserved for myself, and to which I earnestly requested him not to touch on any pretext. When these arrangements were taken, I did not put forth any difficulty, I even considered it a pleasure and a duty to employ the rest of my fortune, which I carried with me, for the support of the State affairs and which amounts to sums attested in the documents which you have herewith. Whilst the affairs obliged you to use my funds, M. de Moracin, in the pressing needs of the Company, paid in the treasury of Machchalipatnam 32,000 golden pagodas from the deposit which I had entrusted to him. I asked for the repayment from M. Godeheu of a bill of exchange on the Company while requesting him to reply to me also for the sums which I had advanced in the Deccan and which I could still advance. Here is his reply to the first item by his letter of January 22: "You know, Sir, that with a Company, it must have accounts differently from those with the individuals. Thus, it is not possible for me to admit the two proposals which you have made to me for the payment of your 25,000 pagodas. You must produce accounts supported by documents, and I cannot dispose of the funds of the Company otherwise. But what I can promise you is to see that on my arrival in France, you do not lose anything and the Company will be in a position to decide on its own on the account I shall give it of your services and your talents."

With respect to the second item which relates to the advances made, and to be made, in the Deccan, this is his reply by his letter of September 8: "Rest assured, Sir, that the Company will never do wrong to anyone when regular accounts are presented to it."

I have nothing to say on this item because I shall never present to it others, But as for the first, I do not know that for the money lent,

one must have other documents than the acknowledgment and the bond of the borrower.

M. de Leyrit has assured me the payment of my advances on the revenues of Condavir and I await his reply on the bill of exchange which I demanded from M. Godeheu. I have offered to M. de Leyrit these same funds of which he granted me the repayment and left him free to make use of them, as the circumstances demand, to facilitate his operations on the only conditions to assure me its claim on the Company.

True Copy.
Dupleix.

C^a 86, f. 169 v^o-172.

Hyderabad, September 3, 1755.

Sir,

From letters which I have received from Europe, I have been informed that the funds which I have left in the hands of M. Dupleix have not been delivered to those who are entrusted with my personal affairs, that there is reason even to think that this payment will take a very long time to be made, which circumstance has placed my family in a great embarrassment. To remedy it, I beg to propose to you some arrangements which will serve to send my fortune to Europe and give you cash.

First of all, Sir, I request you to send me a bill of exchange on the Company for the 25,000 golden pagodas advanced to the treasury of Machchalipatnam, of which I spoke to you in my letter of the 14th July while sending you the acknowledgement of the Council of this Factory. This bill of exchange should be drawn to the order of M. Marion de Mersan, C/o M. de Bacquencourt in Paris, and in his absence to M. de Montaran. Please get three copies made of it, of which two will be addressed to me here, and the third sent by the ship which returns to France. You were kind enough to allow me advances on Condavir. This step has induced me to borrow for my account one lakh which amount is quite ready and another which is promised to me a fortnight after your reply. If you kindly give me bills of exchange to the same address as the first on the Company

for the month of October and send me here the duplicates and triplicates, these sums will be paid to me and will be repaid to the sahuks when I receive what is due to me. You have only to give an order to Machchalipatnam on the question of my advances. It will be my job to come to an agreement with the said sahuks at the time of the collection of the revenues of this distrit. In the meantime, you will have a cash of two lakhs to use them when needed without any expense or interest to be paid. If these arrangements please you, I solicit you to let me know about it immediately, because of the coming departure of the ships, and put the bills of exchange on them to the address I have indicated to you, by sending me intimation about it and sending me here the duplicate copies.

Letters, which I have just received from my family, inform me that as it has not received, as I have said it, the funds which M. Duplex had given order to his nephew to deliver to it, and as it does not even know when and how it can receive them, it is embarrassed to fulfil the engagements it had made. The only remedy which I find to it lies in the arrangement which I propose to you. While getting me out of the difficulty, you will also have some funds. In my turn, when I would have to pay interests to the sahuks till the completion of the payment of what is due to me, I shall not hesitate to honour the engagements which had been made in Europe.

As soon as I receive your reply, I shall send you hundred thousand rupees and a few days later another hundred thousand. I impatiently await your reply which will decide the execution of the project which when all the measures are taken and settled, awaits only your cosent for being effected. Nothing will hinder, I hope, the dispatch of the first bill of exchange, that is to say, that of 25,000 pagodas which I advanced two years ago to the Company. You have herewith a copy of my letter of the 29th November to M. Le Godeheu.

There is a likelihood of a great famine in this country. Within the memory of man a monsoon like this has not been seen ; it has not rained for a week and the time for it is almost over. Poor women are selling and eating their children, and although the Nawab, Shah Nawaz Khan and I every day distribute rice at our doors, there are many who not offer this horrible spectacle every day.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

P. S. The packet was already in the hands of the harakara when I received, Sir, your letter of the 17th of the last month. It requires a little ample reply. I shall do it in a few days' time. Set your mind at rest, Sir, on the revenues of the Four circars. I assure you that once the old debts are paid off, it will no more cost anything to the Company. Do not also be worried about the news which M. de la Selle has given you on the subject of Vijay Ram Raja and the English, which news is absolutely false. I have good reasons to tell you that which reasons I shall explain to you shortly. Rest assured that the latter will not derive any advantage from this Raja in case of war and that, on the contrary, I could arm him against them.

I have noted what you point out to me on the question of the sum which is due to me by the treasury of Machchalipatnam. I solicit you as a favour, Sir, and it is the greatest service which you could render me and for which I shall preserve an eternal gratitude, to send me the bill of exchange to the order of those whom I have indicated above without awaiting the reply from the administration of Machchalipatnam to which I am writing to send me a bill of exchange from the Council of the factory on the Supreme Council which I shall send you immediately.

No one will know, Sir, the dispatch which you have sent me of the treaty. I shall communicate to you my reflections which you find just. If M. Le Godeheu had sent it to me, I would not have failed to remonstrate with him as firmly as respectfully as I have done on all the rest.

The manner in which you correspond with me penetrates me with the greatest gratitude, and I vow to you a sincere and inviolable attachment for all my life.

For Copy.

Duval De Leyrit.

C²86, f. 207-207v^o.

Pondicherry, September 19, 1755.

I hasten, Sir, to acknowledge to you the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant. M. Duplan is ready to set soil.

I have once again written to M. de Moracin so that the Council of Machchalipatnam should furnish you on that of Pondicherry a bill of exchange for 25,000 pagodas which you remitted to the treasury of the Company. Thus, you can expect that the first bill of exchange for the same amount on the Company in Paris to the address, which you will indicate to me, will leave by the first ships which I am going to dispatch to Europe.

As for the other two hundred thousand rupees for which you also ask me similar bills of exchange before the amount has entered the treasury, if this matter depended entirely on me, it would not meet with any difficulty, but I do not hesitate to tell you, that as the amount is so large, I have reason to doubt that the Council would decide to deliver bills of exchange for such value without being sure beforehand of the remittance of this sum. That is why I defer to reply to you affirmatively on this item, and within the next three weeks, time when the ships will leave for Europe, this item could be decided. Whatever it may be, you can rest assured that when the ships depart in January, it will still be time to send these funds to Europe; they will reach (the destination) in time. Moreover, I cannot help telling you that your funds must necessarily be remitted here to the treasury of the Company.

I expect, Sir, to write to you more amply in two days time.

I remain, etc.

True copy.

Duval de Leyrit.

C^o86, f. 29-32

Hyderabad, September 9, 1755.

Sir,

The obliging marks of kindness which you give me in the letters you write to me would suffice to dispel my disgust and revive my zeal if any thing could slacken it. Rest well assured, Sir, that you will never have an occasion to reproach me for abusing them, and that the use I shall make of them will never have another aim than the greatest welfare of the affairs which occupy you and I.

I regretfully perceive, Sir, that if war is declared in Europe, the affairs of India will be one of the strongest grounds of quarrels between the Courts of Versailles and London, and that we shall not be free from the troubles which they will create, and in this respect nothing is wiser than your precaution. In my turn, believe, Sir, that I shall make fresh efforts to support your good intentions.

I am already going to make fresh arrangements so that the revenues of the four Circars could suffice for the maintenance of the army of the Deccan, without touching any more the revenues of the dependencies of Machchalipatnam I shall even do more, and it is a question of the employment mechanism which could furnish me resources in order not succumb to the pressings needs in which I was on many an occasion for the maintenance of the edifice which is entrusted to me. I undertake, if unfortunately the hautiness of our rivals forced us to prefer war to a shameful peace, I undertake, I repeat, to seek for you as long as the war lasts, about four to five lakhs of rupees every year without any interest, payable when the Company will be sufficiently in a position to pay these sums without disturbing her affairs. But to freely set into motion the springs which ought to direct my operations, to lead me to my ends, I need full powers, written and signed in your hand, such as those which were given to me by M. Dupleix and which authorised me to act in all the circumstances as it will appear to me fit and proper for the greatest welfare of the nation and of the Company, in all respects, without, however, holding me responsible for the unfortunate events which human prudence can neither foresee nor prevent, and as it is

impossible that all my behaviour would please everyone. It will be necessary for the benefit of the affairs that you should shut your ears to the complaints which might reach you even from the Darbar. On these conditions, you can count, Sir, that, without affecting in the least the favour able position which we enjoy in the Mughal Empire, I shall find the means from it to derive all possible advantages in case of war.

This is, Sir, what I had demanded very pertinently from M. Dupleix when I returned to the Deccan where I foresaw that the measures, which I had to employ, would not fail to occasion some complaints, as indeed there were some which were carried to him. But M. Dupleix, forewarned as he was, sent back the letters leaving me free to answer them.

In spite of what has been pointed out to you about the secret correspondence which Vijay Ram Raja maintains with the English, I feel sure that I can derive from this zamindar, when necessary, a service most advantageous for us. To arm him and the other zamindars even against the English, is what M. de la Selle does not believe, because he is not aware of the springs which move the scene. To reveal them to you is to tell you that this Vijay Ram Raja is a zamindar of the district of Srikakulam and who, as he possesses a certain amount of genius and some high sentiment, has always sought to distinguish himself from his fellows. Nothing equals his ambition to rise above them by honours which distinguish the individuals in the Mughal Empire. Now as I know what I can do in this respect, you can count that this consideration will weigh over all others, keep him attached to our interests and arm him as I like against our enemies. I do not think that M. de la Selle is better informed on the item of the six thousand muskets and twenty Europeans, which he claims the English have furnished to this zamindar. But even if that were so, which is not possible at least so far as the number is concerned, all that can be inferred from it, is that this man, little loved by other zamindars who are his neighbours, needs to be on his guard against their incursions and their attacks. It is very natural that he should provide himself with arms preferably from Vishakhapatnam. At all times he and his father have had a house there to protect themselves.

if needs be, against the persecutions of the Mughal Government which, all along, has sought to destroy the zamindars. Thus, far from having the slightest anxiety about his alleged secret correspondence with the English, I am, on the contrary, sure that he recognizes me and will recognize me as his master, and I can hold him under my thumb whenever there will be need for it. He has already given proofs of it by supporting Ibrahim Khan with his forces and even with his person while taking possession of the district of Srikakulam.

You would not do justice, Sir, to my zeal and to the vigilance which it inspires in me, if you doubted for an instant that I do not pay a special attention to all the moves which Muhammad Ali Khan and his supporters might make to render the province of Arcot independent of the Subhedar of the Deccan. It is a matter which is too important for us to neglect, but it is still more important for the Subhedar, and you can rest assured that in his turn, he has already taken measures which would destroy the efforts which our rivals might make on this point, as you will see from the copy of his letter to the Vazir.

The news of the investment of Bombay by the Angre and the Marathas is entirely false. That of the union of the Marathas with the English is not less true. You are going to judge it from that which I have learnt at this moment, Jeapa Sindia¹, a Maratha chief and a friend of Holkar, his equal in prestige, and authority, was returning with the latter accompanied by a large army Jayappa left Holkar half way and followed the road to his jahagirs which adjoin the province of Marwar which he seized from the territory of the Rajputs. It remained for him only to invade the capital called Nagpur² which he held besieged for the last six months. The Raja Ajitsing (he is the brother of the one from whom I sent you recently the copy of a letter), despaired of holding out any longer, sought his safety in treachery. Pretending that he was contemplating to capitulate. He sent his Waquil to Jayappa accompanied by some resolute sipahees, apparently performing the function of his usual servants to remove all suspicion, they were admitted unsuspectingly to the spot where

¹ Jayappa Shide.

² Nagore.

the Maratha was then offering his pouja and assassinated him without any resistance. Afterwards, the Rajput troops fell on his camp which they plundered quite at their ease, for, according to the Asiatic usage, when the chief is dead, the most numerous army takes to flight. After seizing a rich booty, they pursued the fugitives whom they cut into pieces and retired laden with riches. The Rajputs, after seizing the whole territory which had been captured from them, immediately wrote to the Emperor and offered to profit by the advantages of their victory to completely expel the Marathas beyond the Narmada. This event covers Balajirao with so much disgrace that he dare not soon attempt fresh enterprises, and probably obliges him to send force beyond the Narmada, that is to say into Hindustan, after the rains. Time will show us the sequels of this event. I shall be careful to inform you about it.

I am impatiently awaiting the reply to the letter of which you have herewith the triplicate. I expect that you will shortly receive the bill of exchange from the factory of Machchalipatnam on the Supreme Council. Moreover, Sir, I request you as a favour not to wait for it to send the bill of exchange on the Company. The delay will be very prejudicial to me. With the duplicate of the present letter you will have my reflections on the document which accompanied your letter of the 17th August.

C² 86, f. 32-34v^o.

Hyderabad, September 18, 1755.

Sir,

I reply to your letter of the 30th August. The enterprises of the English of whatever kind they may be, would surprise me all the less as I had predicted them in more than one place of my correspondence with M. Godeheu. Failing good reasons, they will always have pretexts to infringe not only the conditional treaty which they consider apparently only as a pastime, but the most solemn treaty which

could be signed in Europe. Since centuries they have been amiliarizing themselves with dishonesty and outrages. The rivalry will only feed this tendency. We can in vain invoke conditions of neutrality between the two rival nations, it is a chimera which will never turn into a reality. They will always agree to everything and will never keep but what suits their interests. You see it, Sir, by article 8 of the conditional treaty, it is stipulated that the conditions received from both sides will result in a truce between the nations and their allies until we are informed in India of the replies given to this accord in Europe. Have they religiously observed this fundamental article of the treaty? You know it. But the execution of the plan to levy contributions from the pategars of the province of Arcot, even from the Killedar of Vellore, will put an ineffaceable seal on their dishonesty. In fact, what would they plead to justify this proceeding? That they cannot dispense with following Muhammad Ali, their ally, in the levy of this tribute? But in order that this reason should at least be plausible, they must have proved beforehand that he has a real right to the levy of this tribute. But it is patent that Muhammad Ali Khan is only an intruder, a rebel whom the protection of the English, the distance and the troubles of the Empire have so far protected from the wrath of the Nawab, his master, and what other title than the force of the English and his rebellion authorizes him to keep the place which he had usurpéd? It is therefore incumbent on every good citizen and all the more on a chief of a nation as resolutely devoted as you are to its service, to oppose with all his might enterprises which tend definitely to dishonour it and discredit it for ever. For let us not delude ourselves; the Mughal nation, rather the Indian nations, will never be deceived. He who will dominate will always be their hero. This is the rule and the measure of their esteem and of their contempt. This is the maxim on which was founded the credit which Monsieur Dupleix enjoyed.

I come back to our affairs, and I say, Sir that you are quite right in taking the measures to oppose the execution of a project the consequences of which can only be very fatal to us. Everything tends to prove it to you, but the discredit in which we are falling from day to day is the most convincing proof of it. Could you have convinced

yourself, for example, if you had not experienced it, that the killedar of Vellore could go to such a point of indifference and perhaps of contempt which he shows to me and especially in this circumstance. This is precisely the character of the Mughals. If they believe that you are good for something, they are entirely on your side. If they know that you are useless for their interests, they abandon you and despise you? In short, I have said it, and shall always say it, either we must dominate the Asiatic or be dominated by him; honour, profit are bound up with this maxim.

My zeal for the interests of my nation would not be well known, to you, if you doubted, Sir, the part I take in everything which relates to it. No, Sir, I have never lost sight of the affairs of the south. I realise too well the connection they have with those with which I am entrusted. The glory of the former can only be supported in its lustre by the success of the latter. It is always from the same principal that I draw this inference. Do not, therefore, doubt it Sir. Both fix my attention equally.

What you require of me is being done. Salabat Jang is writing to the Governor of Madras, to the Killedar of Vellore, to Muhammad Ali Khan and to you. He assumes a tone which suits a master. I am sending you the copies of his letters in Persian. But we must not labour under a delusion. They will indeed serve to confound the right which the English and their phantom arrogate to themselves for levying the tribute. But they will have effect only inasmuch as they are supported by force; and the talk which Salabat Jang trumpets very loudly in his letters of his design to finally put order in the Carnatic, will not delude them. The English and Muhammad Ali have here their secret adherents and their emissaries, who are numberless and who take care to inform them of everything. The latter does not cease to make offers which dazzle the Darbar. He promises to pay punctually his farm-dues and offers fifteen lakhs cash for the paravana.

I expect to send you shortly with my reflections on the conditional treaty, a plan of settlement which is meant for you alone. I am indeed sending the present letter although you have not the documents which

I announce to you. The Nawab, who has been very ill, has not been holding the Darbar for some days, and nothing is dispatched except through this assembly. Nevertheless, they have promised to send them to me day after tomorrow.

This is the time for the departure of the vessels. I request you, Sir, to remember me in your letters to the Company and the Minister to whom I expect to write without any detail. I have vowed to you an attachment of which I shall give you fresh proofs from day to day, as also of the extent and the intensity of my gratitude. You can count on me, Sir, as on second yourself on all the occasions when it will be a question of supporting you? shall apply myself to it out of two powerful nations, that of the general welfare and that of deserving increasingly your esteem and your affection.

I have written to Machchalipatnam to send you the bill of exchange of this factory on the Supreme Council. I hope that you will kindly send me that which I have asked of you on the Company without waiting for the ships of October.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C⁸⁶. f. 35-39v°

Hyderabad., September 26, 1755.

Sir,

I make haste to send you the papers which you have demanded of me as well as to join to them one of too great a consequence not to hasten to communicate it to you. It is the translation of a letter which I have just received from the Vazir of the Emperor. This document will prove to you in what consideration our nation is in the whole extent of his Empire. Our last campaign has filled up the cup. You desired, Sir, that the Emperor should come into the Deccan. At the same time the Emperor desired that you should go to Delhi. I cannot tell you here all the advantages which this proposal offers us. The desire to send you this news does not leave the time for it. You can

guess a part of them, but the knowledge I have of the situation makes me conceive ideas most flattering for our nation and the Company. I shall make no delay in communicating them to you. I shall content myself with telling you here in general that if the favour of Salabat Jang could procure us great advantages, the favour of his master can procure us incomparable greater ones and establish our Company for ever in India. I shall even add that from the removal of our army into Hindustan there can result only a great benefit and never any disadvantage. The advantages which we shall derive from the favour of the Emperor will not prevent us from preserving those which we hold from Salabat Jang. We would only have to leave with him a small detachment to establish our residence with him, knowing that we are with the Emperor, no one would stir. Moreover, Sir, what I tell you here is only to enable you to do me the favour to communicate to, me your ideas on it.

The Darbar, as I have pointed out to you elsewhere, which is aware of what is taking place in all the extent of the Deccan knows about all the intrigues of the English with Muhammad Ali Khan and does not form too favourable an idea of our nation. It expected, as we should also expect it, that just as it is stipulated in the conditional treaty, things would remain in *statu quo*. It was very much surprised that in spite of this article, Muhammad Ali Khan should have come out of Tiruchchirappali to go to Arcot as if to establish himself as a subhedar of the province, and from there to Madras. Whence they conclude that our nation must be very weak to allow itself to be dominated (by our rivals) and allow them to commit infringements in it. I was obliged to cover or disgrace by telling them that Muhammad Ali Khan and the English had asked your permission for it under the pretext of having some affairs of interest to settle between themselves.

The mansabdar whom I had announced to you on behalf of Salabat Jang had left later than I had expected because of the flooding of the rivers and the illness of the Nawab. But it is not be when I had charged with the original letter which the Emperor had written to me. It was with my first copy of the 14th of July. I am surprised and very sorry that it has not yet reached you. In the meantime, I shall send you its translation.

I received, Sir, your letter of the 17th of the last month and the copy of the treaty drawn between M. Godeheu and Saunders. I have already acknowledged to you its receipt some time back. I would have already sent you my reflexions on the treaty if a heap of affairs had permitted me to make all those which it admits. But I shall soon be a little more free and consequently communicate to you freely all that I think on what has been planned.

I impatiently await a reply to the proposed which I made to you on the question of two lakhs. This matter is advantageous to me at the same time as it procures funds to you.

I have the honour to remains, etc.

I have just received from Machchalipatnam the second copy of the bill of exchange from this factory on the Supreme Councils for 25,000 pagodas, of which I have spoken to you, to your order payable in another on the Company. M. de Moracin writes to me that he has sent you the first directly. I shall be much obliged to you, Sir, to have this bill of exchange sent to the order of M. Marion Du Mersan, and in his absence, to M. de Montaran.

Translation of a letter from the great Vazir to Mode Bussy. Received on September 25, 1755.

Let this leteer reach the Enir, etc.

The complement and titles higher than the previous one.

All that you continue to do for Empire of the Emperor is functionally reported to the Darbar of the Padshah by the different Waquils and by several letters. The Emperor has given me the order to write to you to send him some curio articles from your country with your nazar¹, and I myself tell you that it is necessary, and to join to it a nazar for each of the nine shahzadas, sons of the Emperor. By this letter I renew to you the assurances of my friendship and assure you that you can consider me as a personal friend at the Emperor's Court. And with the grace of the Almighty I fulfil my duty to procure to you all that you would desire for yourself and the nation. Remember that I shall never cease to give you marks of my kindness. I tell you by this letter that the Emperor has a very great desire to call you,

1. A present to a superior.

and that after the rains you will receive a firman to this effect. The Waquil Tularam will tell you the rest, to which you can give all credence. Your sarpech has left. Let me always have news from you. It gives me much pleasure.

Translation of a letter from the Vazir to the Chief Minister of Salabat Jang.

After the complements usual with the Musalmans.

You complain in your petition on behalf of Salabat Jang that I receive letters from Muhammed Ali Khan, Abdulmagis Khan, Pathan, and others, that I support them in their rebellion by giving them titles and replying to their letters ; that all that creates troubles, diminishes your authority, prevents you from collecting your revenues and occasions troubles in the whole Deccan and the places which depend on it.

I shall tell you that all that is false, and originates from Babu Pandit¹ ex-Waquil of Balajirao, who has prepared false paravanas and false titles which he undoubtedly sent behind my back to the persons, of who you speak to me. I have expelled this man and request you to place chowkies in all the places on the way from Brampour² to the Carnatic to stop all the letters which might be addressed to Muhammad Ali Khan and others, and get the bearers punished. I disown by this letter all those which will be contrary to you interests and promising to send back to you those which will be written to me.

Translation of a letter from the Nawab Salabat Jang to Muhammad Ali Khan.

After the compliments usual with the Musalmans.

I learnt that while continuing to disturb the province of Arcot with (the assistance of) the English, you are making preparations, to march against the zamindars and pategars, and even against the Killedar of Vellore, to demand tributes from them. You know sufficiently well that these dues belong to me alone, and that these

-
1. Bapuji Hingne.
 2. Barhanpur.

tributes belong to the sarkar of the Padshah, and that you have no right, you as well as your supporters, to dabble with these affairs. By this letter I forbid you any enterprise on the zamindars, palegars and others of the Carnatic to put order there. When I was informed that there was an agreement between the French, my friends and a my allies, and the English until replies are received from the King of France, my protector, stopped my expedition out of consideration for my allies. The end of the rainy season is approaching as well as that of the treaty made between the French, my allies, and the English. That is why I expect to lead my royal army into the Carnatic, and with the grace of God and my forces, to re-establish good order everywhere, receive my revenues, and know my friends and my enemies.

Translation of the letter from the Nawab Salabat Jang to the Governor of Madras.

After the compliments usual with the Musulmans.

After setting my affairs with the zamindar of Srirangapatan, I had a plan last year to lead my royal army into the Carnatic to set order there, punish my enemies and put a stop to the troubles which the perturbers of the tranquillity of the people do not cease to create there. When I was informed of the agreement between the French, my friends and my allies, and those of your nation until the replies are recived from the King of France, my protector, I stopped my expedition out of consideration for my allies. Today I learn that you, jointly with Muhammad Ali Khan, have a plan to march against the zamindars, and palegars of the Carnatic to demand tributes from them. I warn you by the present letter that these tributes belong to me or rather to the sarkar of the Padshah, and that you should not in any manner dabble with the affairs which do not concern you and that you should desist from these plans. The end of the rainy season is approaching as well as that of the treaty made between the French, my allies, and you. That is why I expect to lead my royal army into the Carnatic, and with the grace of God and my forces to re-establish good order everywhere, receive my revenues and my dues and know my friends and my enemies.

Translation of a letter from the Nawab Salabat Jang to Mourtou-sakam¹, Killedar of Vellore.

After the compliments usual with the Musulmans.

I hear that Muhammad Ali Khan, jointly with the English, have a plan to demand the tributes from the palegars and zamindars of the Carnatic and from you. You know that these dues belong to me and not to others. Therefore, I forbid you by this letter to give anything to the English or to Muhammad Ali Khan, failing which you will make yourself liable to pay twice. After finishing my affairs last year with the zamindar of Srirangapatan, I had a plan to lead my royal army into the Carnatic to set order there. When I was informed that there was an agreement between the French, my friends and my allies, and the English until replies are received from the King of France, my preceptor, I stopped my expedition out of consideration for my allies. The end of the rainy season is approaching as well as that of the treaty made between the French, my allies, and the English. That is why I expect to lead my royal army into the Carnatic, and with the grace of God and my friends, re-establish good order everywhere, receive my revenues and my dues, and know my friends and my enemies.

¹ Murtaza Ali Khan.

C² 86, f. 209-214v^o.

Pondicherry, October 28, 1755.

I received, Sir, the three letters which you wrote to me on the 9th, 18th and 26th of the last month.

You must have heard from one of my preceeding ones of the news which we received, *via* the carawan, about the truce concluded in the month of May last between France and England. I am impatiently awaiting its confirmation, which for some time, ought to assure the tranquillity of this region, supposing that the English desire to observe the treaties. I wish it in order not to need the succour of which you give me hopes.

I am delighted to read that in case of war, you undertake to obtain for me, about 4 to 5 lakhs of rupees every year without interest, as long as it lasts. But independently of this resource, I must think of the means to relieve the Company of the expenses of war. I have every reason indeed to rely on what you announce to me on this subject.

If it only a question, Sir of giving you powers, it is a matter on which I shall not raise any difficulty to satisfy you. I shall always be very willingly disposed to procure you all the facilities which you could desire to act as you deem it proper for the good of the nation and the Company. Kindly send me a copy of those which you received from M. Dupleix ; I shall send you similar ones when it is necessary. At present it appears to me that in the situation in which matters stand, this precaution is unnecessary for you, and today I could only give you powers which would relate to the circumstances. Moreover, we ought to believe that the Company will put us in a position to support the war if it decides for this course, but as the expenses always exceed the calculation once you are engaged in it, it is always advisable to use foresight.

You would put us a little our ease in this region if you could make arrangements so that the revenues of the Four Sarkars can suffice for the maintenance of your army without, in addition, touching the revenues of the dependencies of Machchalpatnam.

It is just that I should communicate to you the anxieties of M. de la Selle on the conduct of Vijay Ram Raja. The detail, which they give you an opportunity to impart to me, sets my mind completely at rest on what concerns this zamindar.

I also leave it to you, Sir to take the proper measures with the Nawab to prevent Muhammad Ali and his supporters from succeeding in making the Nawaby of Arcot independent of the Deccan. On this subject you announce to me the copy of a letter from the Nawab to the Vazir which you forgot to attach to your packet.

A Swiss officer from Madras, to whom I gave a passage on one of our ships to return to Europe, reported to me that the English of Bombay had put an army in the field, supported by 20,000 Marathas, to attack the Angre, whom they do not want, it is said, to destroy completely, but only bring him to reason. If they destroy these pirates, they are afraid of opening to all the country crafts the commerce of the Malabar Coast which their ships are carrying on today. I shall be shortly informed more positively on what the truth is. I do not see in the event, which you communicate me, anything which might contradict this news; there are as many divisions and different interests in in the Government of the Marathas as in that of the Mughals.

I got the Supreme Council to furnish you with a bill of exchange on the Company, as you wished it, for 25,000 golden pagodas with three figures drawn by the Council of Masulipatam to my order on your account. I have sent the first copy by the ship L. Achille; the second will go by the ship which will leave in January. As for the third, I send it to you herewith. You will see that this bill of exchange has been passed to the order of M. Marion Du Mersant and in his absence, to that of M. de Montaran to whom I have written letters of which herewith is attached a copy.

Father Lavour will give you an account of the two bills of exchange, one similarly furnished by the Supreme Council for 22,000 golden pagodas and the other for 16,000 rupees drawn on my brother in Paris for the same sum which I received, both valued in piasters, and to the order of these two gentlemen like the previous one.

I every day await the delivery of other funds which you still propose to send me in order to furnish you the amount in similar bills of exchange on the Company which I could send to France by the ships which will be dispatched in February from here and from Mahe.

There is nothing more just than the reflections which you pass on to me on the conduct adopted by the English who are occupied in fortifying themselves and consolidating themselves in the province of Arcot. Although I have reason to feel jealous of their proceedings, they have not yet given me cause for complaints sufficiently grave to authorize me to take a decision against them. Their expedition in Madura and Tinneveli was undertaken when I arrived here. I contended myself with lodging protests with them on which the authorities in France will take a suitable decision. It was not advisable for me to begin by recommencing war and destroying the work of M. Godeheu for which he had come to India. Moreover, the situation in which I found the affairs did not permit me to do so advantageously. It is better today with the exception of money which I lack.

I received the letter of Salabat Jang; I shall reply to it on some other occasion. It would have been much better if he had sent directly to the Governor of Madras, to Muhammad Ali and to the Killedar of Vellore those which he has addressed to me for them. And as I thought that if these reached them through my channel, they would give the appearance as if we are improving and would carry no effect, I have so far not made any use of them. I shall also observe to you that there ought not have been any mention of us in these letters. Although we openly protected Salabat Jang against one and all, it is advisable that the measures which he can take vis-a-vis the English or their supporters, ought to appear independent of us. When the (French) Company proposed to that of England to accept as Nawab of Arcot the person who would be appointed by the Subhedar of the Deccan on whom alone depends this appointment, the English declared that this proposal was unacceptable to them so long as we were stationed with Salabat Jang whom we governed and who was not free. It, therefore, appears to me that it is good politics to avoid at least for the present everything which contribute to confirm them in this idea. You

ought to be convinced that there is no question of proposing any change in your conduct, but it is solely a question of saving appearances in certain cases and only during the true.

The offers which the emissaries of Muhammad Ali Khan are making at the Darbar of Salabat Jang to secure the paravana of the Nawaby of Arcot for him, very evidently reveal the irregularity and the falsehood of the conduct of the English who are equally ready to recognise the authority of Salbat Jang and his powers and to deny them according as it suits their interests.

I shall be delighted to have your reflections on the conditional treaty as well as on the project of settlement which you announce to me. Do not entertain any doubt that I shall pay much value to your information and your knowledge. I have rendered all the justice, which is due you, in letter to the Company and to the Ministers, and I have communicated your services to them in terms which cannot but confirm them in the idea which Messrs. Dupleix and Godeheu must have already given them about you. I reveal to them at the same time the confidence which I have sworn to you, and how much I rely on you and your good dispositions to honourably come out of the troubles in which we are today entangled.

I now refer to your letter of 26th September the reading of which has furnished me with a vast field of reflections and thrown me into very seducing ideas. I suppose that the Vazir wants to sound us by informing you on the question of the firman which you are going to receive from the Mughal Emperor so that you should proceed to his Court. This proposal on the part of the Vazir can procure for us very great advantages and perhaps give a favourable turn to all our affairs. But at the same time I think that it is not advisable to get involved into a new career until we are informed of the arrangements which must have been taken in Europe. It is equally not advisable to refuse, but by showing, on the contrary, eagerness for your departure, you can defer it and drag on under different pretexts, while allowing time to furnish you an opportunity which dispenses you with this journey or which enables you to undertake it if the interests of the nation require it.

I was on the point of dispatching the ship 'L' Achille when your letter reached me. I had just the time to send an extract of it to the Controller General whom I have informed about the reply which I proposed to give you. It will be good if you communicate to me your ideas on a subject which ought to furnish you with many, if the authorities favoured the intentions of the Emperor. But it appears to me and I cannot help pointing out to you, before terminating this matter, that in such circumstances it is quite necessary that you impress upon the Emperor and his Vazir that the Head of the nation in India can alone decide such a matter. This negotiation, Sir, demands great secrecy and it is important to hide it from the English. You certainly know all the reasons as well as I.

I am grieved to find myself hindered by our treaties with them, whilst these very treaties cannot reassure me against their enterprises. The conduct which they are adopting today in these regions justifies only too fully my fears and will perhaps force me to take a decision against them, in spite of my ardent desire to have patience until the expiry of the truce to know the intentions of the Minister and the Company.

Muhammad Ali was detained at Madras for some time in spite of himself and obtained the permission to leave it only after agreeing to all the conditions which the English demanded from him. The Governor paid his respects to him before his departure. He was followed by his Council, all the officers and inhabitants and all the ladies of the town, each, in his turn, offering him a present in golden rupees. He is actually at Arcot where he is preparing to march, supported by 300 to 400 Englishmen, against the zamindars and pategars of this region in order to force them to pay the contributions. The Killedar of Vellore awaits him and is endeavouring to fortify himself. It is there that I too am waiting for him to break the truce. If the English do not listen to reason, I am quite determined to oppose their designs which it is claimed, they have on this place. But it is a resolution which I wish to take only after putting them entirely in the wrong.

We are opposed in this region by enemies of a different stamp than the Mughals and the Marathas. It appears to me that some people from Hyderabad look at things which take place today in these

quarters with eyes which strangely magnify the objects. Our treaties with the English have in fact put them in a position which gives them some advantage over us in the Carnatic. But the nation is very far from living in ignominy : an expression which you use and which I cannot and should not approve. On this subject, please pay attention to the expressions which you may use in your letters which, as well as mine, must be seen by the Minister and the Company.

I hear a report Muhammad Ali Khan has a secret understanding with the Nawab of Cuddappa who is on his frontiers with 6000 cavalry. I am in the dark about his designs. It is for Salabat Jang to check him if he has any contrary to our interests and his.

The mansabdar whom you announced to me has not yet made his appearance. I have informed the Company of the dispatch of a sarpech and titles which are being brought for me by this officer on behalf of Salabat Jang.

I was preparing this letter when your last one dated the 7th instant reached me. I am grieved to see in it your dissatisfaction about the correspondence of M. de la Selle who is asking from you for titles and higher emoluments, and moreover, insisting that you should leave to him the administration of the district of Rajahmundry. I have carefully read your letters and his as well as the documents which you have attached to them, and I have realised the futility and the disadvantages which would result from his demands which vanity or self-interest could have alone suggested to him, as you observe. However, I notice that you have complied with them as much as it was possible for you to do so, and I think that he should have been satisfied with it. You have herewith a copy of my letter to him ; you will see in it that I have given him most positive orders to follow yours unreservedly and confine himself to the functions of a collector of the district and absolutely renounce all his claims, besides leaving him free to retire to Machchalipatnam of this decision was not agreeable to him, and I have informed him that he will be replaced by M. Duplant. It appears to me that for your peace, that of the district and of his, it is better that he retires. If you had not cast your eyes on M. Duplant, I had another person to propose to you.

M. Law requested me to allow him to stay here till the month of January to recover his health which still requires some rest.

I would be delighted to see with you an officer capable of supporting you in order to be in a position afterwards to replace you if (God forbid it) your health happened to give way. I have here at present M. Dupassage, brother of the one whom I sent to you recently. He is an officer, among all those who are here, from whom we can expect great things. He possesses intelligence, great valour, honesty and disinterestedness, and to all these qualities, he joins a character fit for making himself loved by the Mughals. If he is with you, I have no doubt that you will find him worthy of your confidence, and I am so convinced of it that I would have decided to send him to you if I were not afraid of doing injustice to M. Law in whom I know you are interested and whom I myself would be sorry to disoblige. As he (Dupassage) is senior to him (Law) on the list, he could serve in your army only in the capacity of a Second-in-command. Let me know if you can make some arrangement for him which will neither be prejudicial to M. Law nor a burden on your expenses which the salaries of the same M. Law, M. de Conflans, the commissary and the Abbe de Montmellian, augment considerably. I shall be grieved to see M. Dupassage leave this place, if I decide to send him to you. You know that he has been serving in the corp of engineers for several years.

Salabat Jang will no doubt decide on the next campaign only when he knows in which direction the Emperor proposes to turn his arms. I have nothing to add to what I have written to you above on the subject of the advice which the Vazir gives you. I am waiting to hear from you.

I still miss one of your letters of M. Godeheu dated September 23, 1754. Please send me a copy of the same.

Let me know if you have received my seals which I had sent you with the first copy of my letter dated the 1st July by the ship le Silhouette and which the Captain had taken away to Bengal. I do not know what has become of them.

I beg to inform you, Sir, that it will suffice if you henceforth send me only the first and the second copy ; the third copy can only augment the risks.

I have not received the first copy of your letter dated the 14th July to which was attached original letter of the Emperor ; I await its translation which you announce to me.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 86, f. 39v^o-41v^o

Hyderabad, October 7, 1755.

Sir,

I had the honour to tell you how I was out of all patience with the correspondance of M. de la Selle. It is no longer possible for me to withstand it. I would have overlooked indecencies of the style which he uses with me. But I could not pass over the misunderstandings spread in several places of his letters which appear to create an impression that I had charged him to manage private interests. You, Sir, could you pardon him ?

No more than I, I do not speak of the extravagant plans which he suggested to me. We can manage to put them aside. But the complaints against the rajas of this provinces and their Waquils, the claim of attention, which he imagines are due to him on their part, the difficulties he raises every moment over the troubles which would not hinder him if he were really actuated by some zeal for the benefit of the affairs, inshort, many claims which his vanity and his private interests suggest to him at the cost of the general welfare. I would enter into some details but you will see almost everything that I would like to communicate to you in the reply, a little sharp, which I could not help giving to two of his last letters. You could see from others which have preceeded them that if I wished to accept his views, not only would be consume in pomp and other useless expenses what

can suffice for the maintenance of the army only by employing much economy, but he would also engage me by his claims into quarrels with the zamindars and in alienating them when it is most important for as to deal with them gently. The Waquils of Vijay Ram Raja and of the raja of Pedapur, have at last arrived in spite of the vile means which M. de la Selle employed prevent them from taking the route to Hyderabad. And hardly was it known that they had arrived than five or six bankers hastened to come and ask me to give them preference for our custom, they who had disdained the offer which had been made to them for it so long as it was a question of having to deal with M. de la Selle employed to prevent them from taking the route a master which he wants to assume with everyone. And I was about to disturb the system of administration which is the only one which can procure me the subsistence of this army. I am sending you a copy of all these papers which I have sent him for his operations as he desired them. But nothing can satisfy this gentleman. I request him, as you see, to decide very quickly if his conscience permits him to accept the advice given in my letters and especially the instructions, of which you receive the copy, so that we could take suitable measures, and that the delays, which he could cause, do not make it possible for me to follow the Nawab. If, as it appears to me, he retires to Machchalipatnam, I think that we shall benefit in every manner by replacing him by M. Duplan whose gentle character will better suit the zamindars whom it is still important for us to treat with consideration.

I await your reply, Sir, to my letters of the 3rd and the 9th September on the two proposals which I have made to you. You must have received *via* Machchalipatnam the bill of exchange from the Council of this factory on the Supreme Council for a part of what is due to me in money lent to this treasury. I have sent you from here its duplicate. I hope that you must have had the kindness to send a bill of exchange on the Company to the address of M. Marion du Mersan or to that of M. de Montaran.

This is almost the time when all the powers of the Deccan and of Hindustan take the field, and each one, in his turn, makes preparations. Balajirao conciliates me much, He is raising troops meant, I

think, to cross the Narmada, for certainly there is some great plan on the side of Delhi where we count for something. The Emperor is camped between Agra and Delhi. The Vazir is at some distance from him. The son of the former Vazir, Mansur Ali Khan, subhedar of Pouroupe¹ joins the Emperor with 25,000 men. The Rajputs are making preparations. The Jats, of whom I have spoken to you, have come to terms with the Vazir and also join the Emperor. We are always the object of their talk at this Court. I impatiently await the goal all these preparations will have, and I shall not fail to communicate it to you. Salabat Jang has not yet quite recovered. I cannot yet tell you anything about the operations of the campaign. The movements of the Marathas and those of Delhi will decide them.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

P.S.

I forewarn you, Sir, that if you do not give an express order to M. de la Selle to follow mine unreservedly and keep himself within good limits which are prescribed to him, it will soon result in an open rupture with Vijay Ram Raja, which will deprive us not only of the revenues of Pedapur but even those of Srikakulam, will oblige us to quit Salabat Jang and the affairs of the Deccan and will occasion a war in these Circars in which the English of Vishakhapatnam might take part. This is what, Monsieur de la Selle does not see at all. He bothers, I can say it to you, Sir he bothers only about his vanity and his interest; both are raised to the highest point.

Everything passed off in the finest order last year. The people have been quiet, the Zamindars are satisfied. We secured our revenues without firing a shot, because I had completely tied up Monsieur de la Selle by my instructions. Everything is in the same order in the Sircars of Srikakulam. Elluru and Mustafanagar became mine are followed there to the letter. But for that of Rajahmundry, I do not answer, Sir, unless you have the kindness to prescribe to M. de la Selle another conduct in case he remains, that is to say, to entirely follow my instructions, without which I wash off my hands for the events which the troubles will occasion and for the lack of subsistence of our troops.

1. Audh

Sir,

I deliver this letter to the mansabdar, bearer of the sarpech and the letter which the Nawab sends you, to request you to have some kindness for him. These sorts of commissions are usually entrusted to those whom one wishes to reward. Moreover, Sir, you could regulate your conduct on what M. Dupleix did for the mansabdar who carried to him the firman of the Padshah and sarpench from Salabat Jang.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C⁸⁶, f. 42v^o-44v^o.

Hyderabad, October 19, 1755.

Sir,

A continuous fever which has been keeping me in bed for the last five days prevents me from replying to your letters of the 16th and 19th of September. Although I am very weak and have taken medicine in the morning, I hasten to write to you a few words to send you the translation of a letter which I received yesterday from the Vazir. They follow each other, as I have pointed out to you, to a point which surprises me. And you will see from this letter that some event is preparing on the side of Delhi in which they do wish that we should participate. The latest news announces that the Emperor is absolutely decided to fight the Maratha power. He has given his orders everywhere to join him immediately. The Jats are sending him a large body of troops, the Rajputs are doing as much. All the Waquils whom Balajirao had posted with the latter have all been slaughtered. This is, Sir, the news on which I request you to communicate to me your ideas and your reflexions as early as possible. You could not believe how much these letters from the Vazir (who never wrote except to the Nawab and that very rarely) augment the glory and the credit of the nation. Besides the scene is so changing that everything will perhaps end in smoke.

The German brigade arrived here six days ago. This detachment, which is fine, very well disciplined and very well dressed, has created a wonderful effect. It is not the same with the French detachment which arrived three days later, as a corps of beggars without uniforms, without shoes, without trousers. I think that they have chosen all that was worse at Pondicherry. I was obliged to wait for the night to admit them. You can imagine, Sir, the impression which such troops create on the people of the country, especially in the present circumstances.

From the latest letter from M de la Selle, he was preparing to return to Machchalipatnam. So much the better. It is at least Rs. 50,000 per year saved, and tranquillity assured in this Circar. If I had listened to this gentleman, all the revenues of this district would have hardly sufficed to form his retinue. The Waquils of all these rajas are here and five days after their arrival, I terminated everything, received the advances and insured the bills on the bankers who will furnish them to me every month without being obliged to pay large discounts for the bills of exchange like last year and as it had to be still done, for, the jamabandi was arranged by M.de la Selle. I have written to the two employees, who were with him, to remain, and I shall shortly send you the statement of all the arrangements. I would have thousand things to tell you but I am too overwhelmed.

I have the honour, etc.

The bill of exchange for one of the two lakhs, of which I have spoken to you, is ready, and I expect to send it to you shortly. I request you to send me a third copy of that which you had the kindness to send to France for the 25,000 pagodas.

Translations of a letter from the Vazir to Monsieur de Bussy. Received on October 15, 1755.

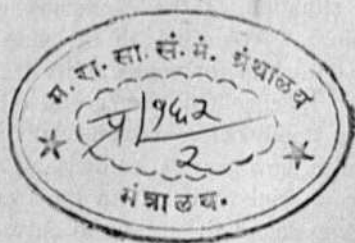
After the compliments usual with the Musulmans.

All that I duly hear about your valour and your great courage gives me the greatest joy. All the reports about your forces and your artillery, which have reached the Darbar of the Padshah, please me immensely. I have already pointed out previously how much I wished for your friendship, your alliance and that of your nation,

and what has made the Emperor and I wish for it, is your integrity and that of your nation which never abandons those whom it protects. Since the time you are with Salabat Jang, of whom you are the protector, your valour has operated miracles, and if it has been faithfully reported to the Padshah and to me and it has given me the greatest satisfaction. Your word is truth personified and nothing can make you change it, once you have given it. I am very happy to see that you are always loved by Salabat Jang and that you are equally attached to him. Your affection for him has not changed since the first day and has worked wonders. I am confident that you as well as your nation will be my friends. I think of you night and day. Not only do I always think of you but also of all that you have done during five years to support the authority of the Emperor in the Deccan. I would indeed wish that you would be ready to support us to re-establish the affairs here and put order everywhere. Consider me as your most faithful friend and remember that my heart is always with you. Give me often your news; if you knew how much it gives me pleasure, you would write to me every day. Always keep your heart for me, mine is yours. I hope that if you support me, I shall succeed in all that I propose to do.

In his own handwriting.

Your name, your sagacity, your justice, your valour seize me with rapture. God has created you to be the greatest among the great. The pen cannot put down what my mind thinks on this point. I have great affairs to communicate to you and I shall soon keep you posted with them. Consider me as the greatest and the best friend you have in the world.



C²86, f. 2141^o-218.

Pondicherry, November 19, 1755.

Sir,

I reply to your letter dated the 19th of the last month by which I am sorry to hear that you are in bed for five days due to continuous fever. I very sincerely hope that this illness will not have serious consequences, and I am impatient to hear about your recovery. The first copy of this letter has not reached me.

You must have seen from my letter dated the 28th October what my opinion is on the invitation which the Vazir gives you, and although his second letter appears to me more precise and still more pressing than the first, I can make no change in what I have already communicated to you on this subject.

The views of the Emperor on our nation assuredly do us honour and might even become advantageous for our present affairs, if, after proceeding to his Court, you won successes which responded to his ideas. But, in the uncertainty in which the matters stand, would it be prudent to absent yourself from Machchalipatnam, of which your army guards the security? Moreover, will there not result from this new enterprise fresh expenses for the Company which is today not compensated by the revenue of the lands for those to which it is exposed, if we included in them the munitions of war of every kind and the articles for presents which are dispatched to you every years, as well as the costs of the troops and their transport?

The situation of the Company in India justifies too well what I advance. According to the accounts of M. Dupleix, it appears indebted to him for nearly thirty lakhs of rupees for the expenses of the war, independently of several other very large sums which it still owes at Pondicherry and especially in Bengal, which ought to make us realise how war is burdensome to it, and the interest it has in putting an end to it. If in the fresh project which occurs, presents itself, you found the means to succeed in discharging so many debts, it would undoubtedly be a motive which would determine us to support

it. Besides, as I have communicated it to the Controller-General, we cannot involve ourselves in it unless we are dragged into it by the strongest reasons. Moreover, the Mughal Government is subject to so many changes and revolutions that I shall not be surprised to see that this project ends in smoke as you think.

I am delighted that you are satisfied with the German brigade. You do not appear, by far, to be equally satisfied with the French unit. It is true that as this unit was collected, to the greatest extent, from those troops which recently arrived here, it needed to be disciplined. But you are wrong if you think that we selected whatever was worst here. You cannot also expect that only the pick of the troops be sent to you. We need them in these quarters as you must realise it. As for the clothing, this unit was dressed with the pinnace like all our troops.

M de la Selle has informed me of his decision to return to Machchalipatnam, and he informs me that he wants to come here. You will no longer be embarrassed today in the arrangements which you deem proper to take for the collection of your revenues, which it is incontestably more advantageous for you to receive at Hyderabad than through bills of exchange on which there is always a discount to be deducted.

Since I wrote to you above, your letters dated the 21st and 26th October have reached me. You will please send me the statement of your expenses as I had asked for it from you.

M. Godeheu found himself here in such embarrassing circumstances and in such a tight situation that I am not surprised at the difficulties which he expressed to you for the repayment of the funds which you had advanced for the services of the nation and the Company; he thought only of deferring it. You know that he had, like M. Dupleix, devoted all the revenues of the Company in the Deccan to the payment of everything which it owed. Moreover, you ought not to doubt that he rendered you all the justice you deserve, and I am convinced that he would have never put you in a circumstance to repent for the advances which you have made.

I cannot help telling you that I am satisfied with the reply of M. de Seichelle to the evil-minded persons who had exaggerated to

him your fortune to create an bad impression about it in his mind. He rightly considered it as the price of your labours, the risks you had to run and the troubles you have been taking for five years for the welfare and the aggrandisement of the Company.

You have acted rightly in thinking of the means to protect at least a part of the fortune, and I am delighted to contribute to it. I have sent you with my last letter a copy of the letters which I wrote to Messrs de Montaranet Marion while addressing to them the bill of exchange for 25,000 pagodas or the value in piastres, drawn on the Company to their address on your account, of which you will simultaneously receive the third copy. I keep here the second to send it in January, if you want, I shortly also send it to you.

I shall receive the payment at the maturity of the bill of exchange, for hundred thousand rupees drawn to my order by Nanadevy on his agent Acheram at Pondicherry, and I shall procure you for this sum a bill of exchange of the Council on the Company which I shall send to the order of M. de Montaran, and which I shall directly address to him as you wish it, and I shall take the same steps with regard to the other hundred thousand rupees which you will shortly send me as I do not intend to avail myself of the offer which you kindly make me. I am not the less obliged to you for it, but for the present I do not foresee any need for these funds.

From the supplement to your letter dated the 26th, I am delighted to hear to that you are beginning to recover your health. You need good health to support the fatigues of the campaign which you are going to undertake. I see from what you write to me that you will not be disturbed on the side of Balajirao who is today occupied with the affairs of his country. On the contrary, I notice that you are relying on the succour on his part against Murarrao whose enterprises the Nawab proposes to stop. Can it be for this design that the Nawab of Cuddappa has raised such a large corps of army of which we do not know here the destination. It will be fit and proper, Sir, if you could profit by the circumstances in which you could find yourself to rid ourselves of the demands of Murarrao.

The approach of the Nawab to these quarters is bound to produce a good effect. But whatever you may say to me, I find it difficult to believe that he will decide to come to the Carnatic. Why did

he not come when he was called there by M. Dupleix ? His presence then was necessary there and could all at once terminate the war. Did his army not oppose his intention to comply with the entreaties of M. Dupleix ? It refused to cross the Krishna. The reasons that it was afraid of getting involved in this province still subsist today. Moreover, if you come in our neighbourhood, by that time, we shall have received news from Europe, and we can act accordingly.

I think that the Nawab will be happy about the manner in which I received the sarpech which he sent me. I personally went to receive it at the Madras gate with all the troops of the garrison and accompanied by the whole colony and the Mughal regalia, attached to the Government. M Barthelemy, second-in-command of the place, led the way as far as the bleaching house, and all this ceremony took place amidst three salutes of 21 guns. The Nawab will judge the difference I make between him and the Nawab of Cuddapah for he sarpech to which he took exception when I had some guns fired.

As for the titles he gives me, I did not need them ; I can indeed assume them myself. But since he decided to give them to me by his letter, he should not have omitted that of Jang. I indeed confess to you that the Mughals and others, who were in the know of the dispatch of these titles were quite surprised at this omission which has produced a bad effect. I am myself all the more surprised at it as I cannot doubt that you had no knowledge of the Nawab's letter to which I shall not reply at all on this subject. The Mansabdar, who brought it to me, with the sarpech, will be the bearer of my reply. I intend to dispatch him shortly and give him a present, although I am hardly more satisfied with the mediocrity of the sarpech than of the titles.

I can only attribute to your preoccupations your delay in imparting to me your reflections, which you had promised to me on the conditional treaty as well as the proposals of the Vazir.

I forgot to tell you that I profited by the arrival of the mansabdar of Salabat Jang to dispatch by a man of his retinue the letters which you recently sent me for the Nawab of Vellore and Muhammad Ali. We shall see what their replies will be. As for the one addressed to the Governor of Madras, I keep it.

I have just spoken to one Olcheram and presented to him the bill of exchange drawn on him to my order. He told me that it was payable in Arcot or Cuddalore rupees and that there was a difference of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. between these rupees and those of Pondicherry.

I remain, etc.

C² 86, f. 45-48 v^o.

Hyderabad, October 21, 1755.

Sir,

I reply at the same time to your letters of the 16th and 19th September. The news which you have the kindness to communicate to me in the first is really very interesting and your reflexions very judicious. They furnish me with many ample ones, to which the disposition of the minds of men who compose the Darbar of Salabat Jang add new ones.

This is not the time, Sir, to spread here the news which you give me, and it is advisable to do it only when the period of the old truce expires. I defer to another occasion to give you the reasons for it. The preparations for the campaign, which usually throw the whole Deccan into confusion because of the uncertainty about the operations of the Subhedar, overwhelm me with the work of writing letters. You will be surprised at the quantity of letters which different persons write to me every moment. I have my boxes full of them.

I shall not fail to send you a general statement of the expenses of this army per month, with that of the revenues of our districts under mortgage, of which the Circars of Srikakulam, Elluru and Mustafanagar are farmed out, as you know it, for three years from the 1st of October 1754. There remains only that of Rajahmundry of which I have sent you the sum total. I earnestly request you to write in strong terms to M. de la Selle, and I shall even tell you that this gentleman is not at all fit where he is, and that sooner or later he will alienate Vijay Ram Raja from us.

I pass on, Sir, to your letter of the 19th and begin by thanking you for renewing to M. de Moracin the request for a bill of exchange on the Supreme Council. I think that you must have received it and I have sent you the duplicate which I had demanded. Moreover, I see,

Sir, that you have the kindness to assure me that you will certainly dispatch a bill of exchange on the Company in Paris, for which I offer you thousand thanks. I am all the more sensible of all your courtesies and of the manner in which you replied to me on the subject of my advances, as I had knowledge of Article 26 of the instructions of M. Le Godeheu to the Committee. I do not know if this article concerned the sums which I had lent to the factory of Machchalipatnam or those which I had advanced to support the affairs of the Deccan and the maintenance of this army. I need not tell you, Sir, how much it would be dangerous if the public had knowledge of this article. Who is indeed the person who would like to advance funds, if it was necessary, to wait for the decision of the Minister and the Company to get it back? And if M. de Godeheu has laid down a formal article on the question of the repayment of mine, who is the person who will not at least expect the same difficulties? For, indeed, everyman who knows my story would say:

"M. de Bussy has not only lent funds to the Company which he could have invested elsewhere very usefully, but yet he gives them without interest out of a pure desire to see the welfare of the state advance or not to let it suffer. He has joined to it pains and attentions which have consumed his days and his constitution. The success and the advantages, which have resulted from it, ought to have brought him most flattering rewards, and as a price for all that, the King's Commissioner orders the secret Committee which he leaves behind for the administration of the affairs, until the arrival of a new Governor, to elude the demand which he might make for his funds? Thus, it would have been necessary for him, if he had been forced to leave for France, to abandon them and fight his case before the Minister and the Company. The Whites and the Blacks will alike follow this reasoning. What! they would add, the Governor, who was believed to be authorised to administer the affairs of the Company for the greatest benefit (of all), will only have the right to borrow our money, without being in a position to procure us its repayment except after a very explicit decision of the Minister and the Company?"

I confess to you, Sir, that such a behaviour would have led me to repent for having exposed a fortune as well acquired as I have done (by procuring entire districts to the nation), a fortune which I owe to the gratitude of a prince whom I have set, supported and affirmed on the throne and in the heritage of his forefathers, and who owes me several times his (gratitude) and rightly. But I have the satisfaction to know that they have decided in my favour in Europe, and that they have noted that this fortune is the price of four years of sustained labours for the benefit of the country.

The confidence I have in you, Sir, again leads me to confide to you the reply which M. de Seichelles gave to some ill-disposed persons who said to him that I possessed a fortune worth eight to ten millions. "So much the better, replied the Minister. I would wish that he had possessed twenty; he has earned them well and by the finest means, and it would be additional money (rolling) in the Kingdom."

I come back, Sir, to the two lakhs which I had promised to you. I would not have advanced if I were not sure of the matter. Moreover, it is an affair with the bankers of this country which concerns me personally, and I have only done it to repair as promptly as possible the harm which has been done to my affairs by the delay in the payment of the sums which I thought had reached France as early as the year 1752. I am, therefore, sending you, Sir, a bill of exchange herewith from the banker Nana Devi on his agent Acheram at Pondicherry for hundred thousand rupees payable from the 1st November in three months for which sum I request you to send for me a bill of exchange on the Company in Paris by the departure of the ships in January directly to the address of M. de Montaran and give him notification of the dispatch. I shall be obliged to you if you send me here the duplicate as well as of that which you had the kindness to send in October. I shall shortly send you the other lakh from which you will kindly take Rs. 50,000, of which I have spoken to you, without any interest if you don't mind, and you will have the kindness to send the rest also in a bill of exchange to M. de Montaran.

the 26th

The Nawab has sufficiently well recovered and I also begin to be so. They are hurrying all the preparations for a campaign and Salabat

Jang expects to enter the tent towards the 1st of the next month. I cannot say to you anything about the operations. But I am going to tell you in a nutshell the actual state of the Deccan.

The affairs of the Court of Delhi continue to be in the same state and Balajirao, I think fixes all his attention on the side of Hindustan. He has not imitated the Raja Jessin. Deo who had his Waquil massacred (as I have already written to you elsewhere). The Maratha contented himself with dismissing that of the Rajput. He is raising troops and expects to leave Poona between now and the 1st of the next month. Damaji, whom the whole of Surat and Gujrat belongs, is to proceed to the camp of Balajirao where the two sons of Raghuji Bhonsle, who died last year, have already arrived. As you have seen from the correspondence, these two young men, after disputing for a long time the domain which their father possessed in the Soubha of Berar, went to Balajirao whom they took in some sort as a mediator, and who, it is said, wishes to seize their property and give them only enough to subsist, by retaining them in his service. Fateh Sing, grandson of Shahu Raja, is quiet in his estate. I have no sure news about Holkar who spent the monsoon in his jahgirs situated beyond the Narmada. This is, Sir, the state of the north of the Deccan. And if it does not change, the Nawab can proceed to the south to settle his affairs with the Pathans and stop the incursions which the troops of Murarrao make in Bijapur where they have seized several small forts. and which the governor of this province cannot resist, because an illness has affected his brains. His brother, who governs, is a young man, given up to debauchery and who was beaten about a month back by a Pathan commanding the troops of Murarrao who continues to be at place of his residence. If Balajirao is not totally occupied in the north, there is no doubt that he will send troops against Murarrao. I shall not forget, Sir, to profit by the circumstances which will present themselves to get rid of the demands of the latter.

I am afraid that the Darbar of the Nawab may create some difficulties for us on the subject of the Carnatic. The Nawab is not always free; the officers of the Emperor form here a Council which prevails almost always over the wishes of Salabat Jang who will not quietly see himself deprived of the revenues of this province. He is aware of

all, the dealings of the English with Muhammad Ali Khan, and of the fact that owing to the (Muhammad Ali Khan's) inability to settle their accounts, they want to oblige him to make them a cession in the form of Pondimaly¹ Chinglepet, etc. I shall tell you more about it by my next.

I remain with the most respectful attachment, etc.

B.N., N.A.F., 9158, f. 290-310.

Hyderabad, November 15, 1755.

M. Le Marquis Duplex.

Sir,

My last letter informed you of the arrangements made in the Four Circars, and of the success with which I had induced Vijay Ram Raja to come personally to recognise me as a nobleman and master of these districts, settle his accounts with me and render me all the honours which he renders only to the Subhedar of the Deccan. All these details were accompanied by a memorial addressed to the Company on the affairs with which I am charged. M. Diore, senior, who carries it, had orders to communicate it to you before presenting it so that you could make changes in them which circumstances could require. I pick up the thread of affairs again from this epoch onwards.

I confess to you, Sir, that at your departure I found myself struggling against two opposite cravings which for a long time split my reflections. On the one hand, I naturally felt inclined to follow the destiny of a man to whom I owed everything, delighted to share your disgrace. Besides, I imagined a sufficiently sad future thinking that I would no more find this confidence which had soothed the pains and calmed the anxieties inseparable from a dangerous and difficult expedition. I added to the embarrassments of the affairs the aversion and the perplexities of a labour almost always critical and often disapproved. The comparison, which I made with your way of behaving and thinking in which I openly saw the disposition of

1. Poonamallee

a friend with the authority of a master, a combination which is unknown, set out before me additional pains and embarrassments the yoke of which appeared to me unbearable. To all these reflections I added the desire so natural to go and enjoy the fruit of so many labours in the bosom of my family, a desire which has not lost anything of its early which is balanced only by the motive of the interests of my nation, to which I know how to sacrifice what is dearest to me. That is also the recommendation which you made to me at the time of your departure.

It is thus the interests of the Company alone, inseparable from those of the State which stood in the way of my plans and started within myself a struggle between aversion and zeal. I saw that in this country in which everything is personal, when M. Dupleix, whom the Asiatics had believed as irremovable in the post which he occupied, was ousted, if I had retired, it was all over with the authority and the glory of the French name in India. Our rivals who proclaimed my retirement as a sequel of your fall, gave people to understand and wrote everywhere that while sending you back to Europe in betters, I was also arrested as also all those who had a share in the present affairs, that these changes were made by the orders of the King of England who had obliged that of France to recall you with an interdiction to the French to stand henceforward in the way of those whom he would protect, from which assumption it was generally concluded that the protection of the former was superior and preferable to that of the latter. Finally, Sir, it was everywhere indecent talks and ignominy. I communicated it at that time to M. Le Godeheu who rightly realised the sort of impression all these talks would make in the Deccan where our antagonists were preparing to replace us, which endeavour would not have been difficult for them. This change would have brought about the total ruin of our affairs. I shall dispense with narrating here the proofs which speak for themselves, whether we consider the jealous envy of our rivals or whether we think of the greedy vengeance of the Asiatics on those from whom they have no longer anything to fear or hope.

The zeal for the mother country indeed triumphed over my aversion, but its victory, still imperfect, needed to be supported and

fortified by assurances which while dispelling my alarms, would confirm to me this earlier liberty to act which had so far contributed to my tranquillity and my successes. I wrote about it to the Commissioner General. I communicated to him the irresolute state in which I was, the cause of my irresolution being not anything else but the uncertainty to know whether I would have a share in his confidence or whether I would be obliged to fight more often his suspicions than the enemies of the State, I mean, of Salabat Jang. I requested him to explain himself frankly. He did it in terms which did not leave for me anything to be desired and confirmed to me all the powers which I previously had. What M. Le Godeheu wrote to me was more than sufficient to induce me to run the risk of a career in which lack of liberty to act and the fear of the reverses the misfortunes of which would be imputed to me, are the only obstacles to the success of the enterprises.

After establishing tranquillity and order in our Four Districts under mortgage, I set out, but the event justified your conjectures which forecast for me various orders and projects, the majority of them impracticable and the execution of which would have ruined our affairs. I shall mention them in the order of the time and the circumstances in which they were communicated to me.

When I arrived at the army of the Nawab, I found the persons still quite occupied with your departure. The impression which it had created had somewhat slackened off, but they had not recovered from the disadvantageous suspicions to which the change of government had given rise. My return reassured those who, still irresolute, were wavering between sentiments of esteem and antipathy for the French. That was only a small prelude to the embarrassments of this campaign. Another matter soon exposed me to questions which multiplied every day and to which I could give only vague replies for fear of advancing myself too much and compromising the reputation of uprightness on which all my credit and authority in the Deccan is founded. It was the treaty which was being negotiated between Pondicherry and Madras. Our rivals managed to leak out its articles which announced a series of results as dishonourable for the French as contrary to the interests of the Nawab. The noblemen of

the Darbar were carrying on their politics as a result of the reports which were being spread, either malicious or conjectural. Schemes were formed and I was held responsible for everything. Several assemblies were held in which the affairs of Arcot were hotly discussed. I repeat here the extract of my letter of the 8th February to M. Le Godeheu on this subject.

"In consequence of the orders which you have given me by your letter of the 16th January to communicate to Salabat Jang the suspension of arms and the cessation of all hostilities between the French and the English and their respective allies, I went to his place yesterday for this purpose accompanied by Messrs. Law and Duplan. Hardly did I make the first opening to him than he interrupted me to remind me of the engagements which the French had made to him."

"Your King," he said to me, "had promised to support me against my enemies, establish my authority and have it respected. Yourself had given me the assurance on which I retired. However, I understand from many quarters that the King of the English has taken cognizance of the affairs of India and even of those which concern me."

"The English," I replied, "jealous of our successes, are leaving no stone unturned to stop their course. They took the cause of Muhammad Ali Khan to have a pretext to make war on us and see to it that we were detached from you by enticing us into the Carnatic, force us to fail in our engagements and make us loose your friendship of which we have always tried and we shall always try to tighten the bonds. To justify their crime, they have had recourse to still greater excesses. They have spread the report that you are not the legitimate Subhedar of the Deccan and that we were supporting only an usurper. We would not have failed to check their audacity if we could have united our forces against them. But anxious to keep the promise which we had given you to support you against your enemies, affirm and have your authority respected, we were afraid of failing in these solemn engagements if we had quitted you to go to the succour of the Carnatic. Thus, it is only to this scrupulous honesty, in which our nation glories, that the English owe their

successes in this province. They united all their forces there and we were obliged to divide ours. They had only one army to maintain; we have always had two, one to face them and another to remain with you."

"I do not complain" resumed the Nawab, "that you have failed in your promise to me. But finally, what are the arrangements which you have made for the province of Arcot"?

"In order to terminate once for all," I told him, "the troubles which divide the two nations, the Kings of France and England (and I used the names of the Kings of France and England because the Asiatics have no idea of what the Companies of the two nations are) wanted to be informed of the real causes which have occasioned and which continue the troubles. It is to take note and render an account to our King that M. de Godeheu came to India. On the instructions he will give, will be concluded a solid peace which will assign to each one what is due to him and the place which he must occupy in India. Whilst waiting for this decision, the belligerent parties are ordered to lay down the arms and leave things in the state in which they are at present. Thus, all hostilities will cease between the English and the French and their allies until the final reply, is received from their respective Kings."

"You surprise me much," said the Nawab, "with what right and by what justice does the King of England (whose subjects have been disturbing my territory for the last five years by supporting a vagabond who is perhaps a simple trooper and depriving me thereby of the revenues of a large province) authorise the men of his nation to thwart me and dabble with my affairs which I had entrusted to yours? What do you mean by term the 'allies'?"

"By 'allies'" we mean," I replied to him, "those with whom one united to make war as we are united with you to fight those who will refuse to recognise your authority. It is thus that the English are united with Muhammad Ali Khan to help him to seize the province of Arcot by force of arms. That is what gave the ground to the French, your allies, to make war with the English to support your authority against the rebel Muhammad Ali Khan whom they supported in the capacity of his allies. It is this war of which the

operations have just been suspended until our respective Kings terminate it completely by a solid peace established on the rules of equity."

"I understand you", said the Nawab, "that is to say that you equate me with Muhammad Ali Khan. They may not be aware in Europe, but you are aware that I never employed Muhammad Ali Khan, that in case I had done it, it could only be in the capacity of a farmer whom I could revoke, place elsewhere or leave him without employment if I Judge it proper. I believe, or I am very much mistaken, that he is considered in Europe as a Prince to whom the Carnatic belongs by right. It is an error on their part. It would be a folly on his if he had the slightest doubt about it. It is of what I cannot accuse him since on every occasion, he does not give me any other title than that of his master and requests me to receive him with favour. In short, he knows well that he is only a simple trooper, as you have seen here his elder brother Maphus Khan, who deserves to lose his head because of all the troubles which he has created."

"The error, in which the Europeans may be," I replied, "cannot do the slightest harm to your rights. You know sufficiently well that the French, far from drawing a parallel between you and Muhammad Ali Khan, have always declared themselves as his enemies and have considered him only as a rebel. They will never consider him except as such until he is placed in your hands."

"But if I descend some day into the Carnatic," replied the Nawab, "to set order in it, if I want to expel Muhammad Ali Khan from it and appoint a governor of my choice, the English will oppose it. If they oppose it, you will remain quite because of this suspension of arms, you will not lend me succour either against Muhammad Ali Khan or against the English. Is it not the real sense of your words? However, you know it that the state of my affairs necessarily demands the succour of Europeans. I cannot do without it; either I must put the English in my interests or you must remain there. Are you prepared to continue to me the services which you have rendered me? I have been well served so far; I render you this justice. But now, you have no longer either the power or the will for it."

This treaty, of which the Darbar had, I do not know by what means, several copies in Persian, has produced two very different effects in the Council of the Nawab. It considers first the authority which the English usurp in the country as a crime which deserves all its indignation. But at the same time it considers the readiness with which the French acquiesce in it as a weakness and a forced dependence which turn to our shame by belying the idea they had formed of our nation.

Could I tell you to what degree revolts them the idea to see of passing into the hands of the English a part of these concessions given as a pure gift and forever by the Nawab and confirmed by the Emperor, his master, in recognition of the services which the nation had rendered to that of the Mughals and in particular to Salabat Jang? If it comes to that at last, if will be, let us have no doubt about it, the signal of a war of which we cannot be peaceful spectators without dishonouring ourselves and renouncing all the possessions in India. That is what I have fully narrated in my letters to M. Godeheu.

If reasons which they cannot foresee (I mean the Mughals) prevented them from adopting this course, they would be forced to follow quite an opposite one, of which the ruin of the French in India would be a necessary sequel. They would send to Muhammad Ali Khan the parvana of the governor of the province of Arcot and would ally themselves with the English on whom they know that Muhammad Ali Khan depends as a slave. They would even conciliate them in order to obtain the revenues of the province through them, for, the Darbar knows the arrangements which the English have made with Muhammad Ali Khan. It knows that the latter, by means of an honest subsistence for him and his family, is forced to abandon to them the collection and the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic. This is the motive which will urge the Nawab to attach himself to them if he is not in a position to force them to return to their duty and if we abandon everything.

But they proposed a third course which was to punish Muhammad Ali Khan and humble the English. In case they cannot derive any advantage from our alliance on this subject, they will ally themselves

with Balajirao who will seize the occasion with all the greater pleasure as he will think of assuring for himself thereby the right of Chauthai of this province.

Here I find my bearings, and I ask you, Sir, if unfortunately the scene had such a disastrous end, what a strange role would I have to play after playing such a glorious role for the nation? Would I be compelled to destroy with my own hands an edifice which had cost me so much to raise? You will admit, Sir, that one cannot propose it to me with decency and still less require it of me.

Judge, Sir, how the situation, in which I was, was critical and embarrassing. But the ascendancy which I have over the Mughal nation, as you know it, has obviated everything. However, preparations were being made for the expedition of Mysore. I communicated it to the Commissioner General whose reply tended only to cleverly dissuade the Nawab from this design, however, ordering me to follow him if he persisted in this project. (Was there any room to hesitate?) The execution of the plan which he prescribed to me in case this expedition took place, was impracticable. I made to him on this subject as on all the other affairs which I had to treat with him, representations as firm as respectful. I would have very much liked to treat with the Mysorians for the sums which are claimed from them. But I did not know either the amount or the conditions. I, therefore, could not profit by the circumstances to obtain some partial payment from the Raja. This step exposed me to extremities for which I was not sufficiently authorised, as the Commissioner General had not judged it proper to give me full powers for this purpose which I asked from him by my letter of the 29th November. This affair once it was initiated, I had to terminate it. Either the Raja of Mysore would have accepted the proposal which I would have made to him or he would have rejected it. I could not anticipate the first possibility he would not have failed to bring against me the sums which he was then obliged to pay to the Nawab. He would have put forward the conditions, to which the French had pledged themselves, to deliver to him Tiruchchirappalli and of which he expected the execution, and the useless expenses which he had incurred on this subject.

In the second hypothesis, in which he would have rejected my demands, everything required that I should employ the means to force him to comply with them. Then I became responsible for the rupture which could have ensued from it. If an objection is raised that I ran the same risks while working for the Nawab, it is not difficult to notice the difference. I am authorised and obliged to follow and serve Salabat Jang according to his views in all that concerns his interests of which the failure cannot concern either me or the nation.

The Emperor then wrote to Salabat Jang on the subject of the expedition of Mysore. Here is the extract of his letter.

“Your humble petition has reached the feet of my throne, etc.

I have noticed that after assembling the forces of the Deccan combined with those of the French, your protectors and my friends, you are marching towards the Krishna and that your plan is to enter Mysore to collect the tributes. I have given orders to the Vazir-el-mulk to send you the accounts of the perfidious Jagdev Ray, Zamindar of Mysore. I order you by this letter to receive the amount to the last annas and send it to me, which act would induce me more and more to shower my favours on you, etc.”

In the meantime, there occurred another negotiation on the part of Murarrao whose design was to form an alliance with me, obtain the farming of Shire or Shirpy from the Nawab and urge him to prevent Balajirao from ever penetrating into the Carnatic. He proposed an offensive league to which he invited all the Maratha chiefs to humble the power of Balajirao if they could not succeed in destroying him. In his turn, Balajirao, informed of or suspecting the designs of Murarrao, declared that he would break the peace if his (Murarrao's) Vakil was admitted to the presence of the Nawab or of mine. I was, however, very happy to profit by these circumstances to urge Murarrao to desist from his claims against the nation. So many diverse interests were very difficult to be reconciled. I could not have recourse to the enlightenment of M. Godeheu who had announced to me his departure by ordering me to correspond with the Committee which he had set up to administer the affairs until the arrival of M. De Leyrit. This departure plunged me again in the earlier embarrassments, in

which I had been on the occasion of yours, to reply to the interrogations of the Darbar, which the kind of confusion which reigned amongst us, gave it the occasion to put to me.

The Committee, depositary of the authority of the King and the Company, charged with settling the affairs of the Deccan, of which it hardly possessed all the possible was composed of Messrs. Bathelemy Boileau and Guillard. These gentlemen soon informed me of their charge, enjoining me to communicate everything to them, in order, they said, to give me orders according to the circumstances. I was a little surprised that they should get ready to give me orders and rules of conduct on affairs of which they could have never combined the advantages and the disadvantages. Nevertheless, I complied with the order which I had received, requesting them to communicate to me their advice in the labyrinth of intrigues into which I was plunged, on the cabals which I had to dissipate, on so many contrary interests which I had to reconcile, on the accidents to be foreseen, on the alliances to be placated and formed, as M. Godeheu had recommended to me, in shorts on all sorts of difficulties to be surmounted to support the affairs. I added my conjectures and my views on those of Arcot and the conduct which it was advisable that I should adopt vis-a-vis the Darbar. To all that M. Barthelemy, in the name of all, replied to me as follows.

"The Committee has taken not of all the letters which you have addressed to M. Godeheu and to others, and if it has not so far replied to all the items of these same letters, if it is because they appeared to it so ticklish to take a fixed decision. M. De Leyrit, who will certainly be more authorised than we are, will explain himself plainly on all the matters in question."

What was I supposed to do after this declaration? I am thus made responsible for all events, as I do not know any longer to whom to address myself. Honour and the interests of the nation will thus depend on the conduct which I shall adopt. It will be the same as that which I have adopted so far, and I venture to expect successes from it which extract praises even from my enemies. That is about what I have now to talk to you without omitting a single incident.

Finally, the Nawab's army arrived on the frontiers of Mysore. This expedition terminated in a manner as glorious to the French name as advantageous to the Nawab and the Mysorian.

At the time of his departure, M. de Godeheu had recommended to me to tighten the bonds of alliance of Salabat Jang with the French without forgetting Balajirao and the other princes of the country. It was to our advantage to placate the Mysorian for the affairs of Arcot. To conciliate so many diverse interests, I had tried to dissuade the Darbar of Salabat Jang from undertaking this expedition. But I saw that by opposing it, I ran the risk of losing the credit which the nation had at the Court of the Nawab. There was no room for hesitation between the sovereign and the subject. Moreover, the treaty of donation of the Districts for the maintenance of the army, required that I would follow Salabat Jang in all expeditions without exception. Besides all that was said in the Council, this sovereign, alleged that our arrangements in the province of Arcot having rendered him powerless, in our opinion, to act against Muhammad Ali Khan as an ally of the English, we certainly wished his ruin by preventing him from collecting his tributes from his vassals, especially from that of Mysore because he was our ally. He wrote me a letter which I attach to all the documents which you have herewith. However, in spite of what this sovereign had represented to me orally and in writing, I had succeeded to the point of terminating this affair without entering the territory of Mysore. We were not to cross Shirpy which is a dependency of the Nawab. The usual tribute was to be brought there and the army was not to penetrate further. But the Raja of Mysore ardently solicited the Nawab to proceed and camp under the walls of his capital, and this is why.

At that time, there was on the opposite frontier a corps of troops of 35,000 to 40,000 cavalry detached by Balajirao, which, to penetrate into Mysore and commit ravages there, waited only for the decision which the Nawab would take to himself penetrate or stop at the frontiers. We, therefore, complied with the solicitations of the Raja of Mysore. The Marathas, as it had been foreseen, withdrew. Thus, without firing a shot, everything terminated to the satisfaction of the Nawab who received the tribute which the Mysorians owed him. In

his turn, the Raja was delighted to have been delivered of the incursion of the Marathas.

However, the Nawab absolutely wanted to porfit. By this occasion to take back from the Raja of Mysore all the territory and the fortresses which he had seized from the district of Shirpy since the death of Nizam-ul-mulk and during the troubles which claim forms a very large object.

In addition, the Nawab wanted this Raja to come and pay him a homage in person as the Subhedar of the Deccan. But at my pressing soliciations, Salabat Jang desisted from these two demands, and things remained as they were. During our sojourn at Srirangapatan, a Son was born to the Raja whom he placed under my protection and to whom I induced the Nawab to grant the fortress of Dasseota and its dependencies in jahgir, which brings more than two lakhs of revenue from the district of Shirpy. It is Hyder Jang, whom you know, son of the ex-governor of Machchalipatnam, who is attached to the nation and particularly to me, whom I sent to perform this ceremony. The child was placed on his laps and he placed in his neck a neckless of pearls worth Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 7,000. This is, Sir, what I did for the Raja, which fact is known to the whole Deccan and for which he has shown me all sorts of satisfaction. In his turn, the Nawab is not less satisfied to see his finances a little re-established by the sums which the Raja of Mysore has paid him. It is easy for you, Sir, to judge of my embarrassments from all these details which I have given you, and whether I have been able to reconcile the interests of our two allies in this expedition which has terminated to the satisfaction of the Nawab without alienating the Mysorian as M. Godeheu feared it, by even drawing closer the bonds of alliance with this Raja by a project of which the rainy season did not permit the execution and which can take place during the next campaign and throw ten to twelve lakhs in the treasury of the Company. The project is to put the Mysorian in possession of Balapur and its dependencies. For that purpose the Raja is making large offers to the Nawab, and I intend not only to obtain from him a partial payment of his dues to the French, but also a sum of six lakhs cash for the Company. But the scene, as you know it, is so changing in this country that one can count on the execution of a project only at the moment when one undertakes it.

When the affair of Mysore was being settled, M. De Leyrit arrived at Pondicherry. It was time that he should appear there. Profiting by the interregnum and misusing the treaty, the English seized 200 villages without any other right than a simple statement that they depended on their possessions. M. De Leyrit assumed a tone of firmness without, however, going to extremities with them. This new Governor does not appear to be in a mood to submit to the law of the English. On false reports which had spread, moreover, obsessed by those which envy and ignorance prevent others from applauding my successes, M. De Leyrit appeared at first to assume with me a tone which would have soon made me take my decision. I was all the more surprised at it as on the eve of his departure, M. Godeheu had not only charged me, with supporting the affairs till the news from Europe arrived, but also repeated to me the promise to set off my services with the Minister and the Company. He said to me by his letter of the 22nd January.

"I ardently wish that you finish your career with all the advantages which I desire for you. I shall see to it that it is as fruitful as you ought to expect it in view of the long period of your labours and their importance. I shall be delighted, Sir, to meet you some day in France and from there with you a more personal acquaintance and express to you all the sentiments of esteem and full of sincerity, etc."

My first letters to M. De Leyrit destroyed his prejudices and made him assume quite a pleasing tone. He wishes to be posted with everything and prefers the sentiments and views founded on experience and the knowledge of the local conditions to his personal reflections. He appears very much disposed, as I have said it, to oppose the enterprises of the English firmly and wishes to be in a position to support, if it was necessary, a state of war. But he lacks funds and he would like to find them elsewhere than in the treasury of the Company. That is to what I am going to work although a deadly blow has been dealt to the credit of the French by disowning loans which you had taken and by referring the credit to you. The Asiatics, who are certainly very enlightened on their interests, have come to this simple and final conclusion in matter of credit : if the successor of M. Dupleix does not acknowledge either his loans or his treaties, the one who will

follows him, will adopt the same languages, from which assumption it is concluded that there is neither honesty nor surety with the French. I have suffered from it, and I think that we shall suffer from it for a long time. This is the epoch of the refusal of all the **bankers** to enter into any dealing with us. That is so true that I could not persuade them to send a thousand pagodas, advancing that they neither had nor wished to have agents at Pondicherry, whilst they offer everything to the English and the Dutch. Could we not, Sir, with gentle words, without paying anything, maintain the confidence by owning the debts which the Chief of the nation had contracted, as personally known to those of India as you were, Sir. Hope which would have been given to the creditors to satisfy them would suffice to support the reputation and the credit. Thus, to prove some funds for M. De Leyrit, I can say it, my personal credit is the only resource which is left to me, for, as for that of the nation, it is, as I have said it above, buried under the ruins. You know better than anyone that all my funds are employed in the affairs. Besides those which you had in your hands, when I returned to the Deccan, I left a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 with M. De Moracin as a deposit, the only resource which I had reserved for myself and to which I earnestly requested him not to touch under any pretext whatsoever. These arrangements taken, I made no difficulty; I even considered it a pleasure and duty to employ the rest of my fortune, which I carried with me, for the support of the affairs and which constitutes the sums attested in the document marked A which you have herewith. Whilst the affairs obliged you to make use of my funds, M. De Moracin, for the urgent needs of the Company, paid in the treasury of Machchalipatnam 32,000 gold pagodas from the deposit which I had entrusted to him. I asked for their payment from M. Le Godeheu or a bill of exchange on the Company, while requesting him to reply to me also for the sums which I had advanced in the Deccan and which I could still advance. Here is his reply to the first item by his letter of the 22nd January.

“You know, Sir, that with a Company, you must produce accounts differently from those with the individuals. Therefore, it is not possible for me to admit the two proposals which you have made to me for the payment of your 25,000 pagodas. You must produce

accounts supported with documents, and I cannot dispose of otherwise the funds of the Company. But what I can promise you is to see on my arrival in France that you lose nothing, and the Company will be in a position to decide by itself on the account I shall render it of your services and your talents."

With regard to the second item, which are the advances made and to be made, this is his reply by his letter of the 8th December :

"Rest assured, Sir, that the Company will never wrong anyone when accounts are presented to it in order."

I have nothing to say on this item, because I shall never present others to it. But as far the first, I do not know that for the money lent one must produce other documents than the acknowledgement and the bond of the borrower. It is true that M. De Moracin had forgotten to send him that of his Council with the extracts of his letters on this subject which, as well as all the other documents, I enclose at the end of this letter. M. De Leyrit has assured me the repayment of my advances from the revenues of Condavir, and I await his reply on the bill of exchange which I had asked from M. Le Godeheu. I have offered to M. De Leyrit these very funds of which he has granted me the repayment and have left him free to make use of them, according to the circumstances, to facilitate his operations on the only condition to assure me their credit on the Company to whose benefit I devote them, not demanding any interest as long as it will make use of this sum, provided it promises me its repayment in Europe when I shall require it. I have always considered myself as its child and have forgotten nothing to serve it usefully. Whatever the prejudicial minds may say about it—they have seen in it only a sterile glory and a burden—the campaigns if the Deccan have not been unfruitful for it. It is not to you that I shall narrate its detail; you know it better than anyone else. The glory of the French name has thus not been its sole object, and if the nation had not acquired on the Orissa Coast what it has lost on that of the Coromandel, and if its advantages of the north do not balance those which our antagonists have had in the south, I ask where would be its affairs? If actually the reputation of the French supports itself in spite of the reverses, the set-backs and the revolution which

has taken place in our government, if the nation, while losing its credit, has not completely fallen into ignominy. I can assert, without labouring under a delusion that it is to the army of the Deccan that one is indebted for it. I shall also add that this army has never caused any expense to the Company. It is quite true that the revenues of Condavir have served for a year for the payment of the debts with which it was charged. But this succour came to it from a district which belongs to it in such manner that it has been offered to me personally and that the Company had never imagined that it could obtain or possess, it and which it indeed owes to this army alone. I, therefore, do not hesitate to say it, I have fulfilled the full compass of my mission and your views which had two principal objects, one to procure to the Company, that is to say, to the State, solid advantages, the other to establish, support and affirm a Prince in the heritage of his ancestors. One might add to it a third one which was also to establish the French solidly in the Deccan and with the Subhedar, whoever he may be, render them indispensable to him and thus protect them and the acquisition of the districts earmarked for their pay, against the revolutions so usual in this government. The advantages which this latter system presents, are narrated in a memorial sent to France in 1752. That is the fruit of five years of incredible labours during which I have sacrificed my youth, my rest and my health. Let the Company enjoy the fruit of my labours; it will be for me a nice and perceptible satisfaction, and even if jealous envy would cause my services to be ignored in Europe, one can never snatch away from me the glory of having usefully served my mother country.

I am so overwhelmed with affairs and am writing this letter so many times that it is not possible for me to put order in what I am writing. Therefore, receive my ideas as they are presented.

The confederation of the Marathas against Balajirao might indeed vanish, and I am told that the aim of Murarrao is only to get himself recognised as the Senapati from the Court of Satara.

The revolution, that took place at Delhi, last year, is maintained. Asaf Jha, son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, who is the Vazir, governs the Emperor and the Empire despotically. This sovereign has recently won a complete victory over the Pathan Abdali, who must not be

confused with Ahmed Abdali, or Adal Shah who thrice came as far as Lahore to seize the Empire and who always been recalled to Persia by the troubles which arose there. The one in question and who has just lost his head was a rebel who had a large army and the same plan as Adil Shah. The Emperor, who had left Delhi, was to re-enter it only after visiting and setting order in his states. He hesitated over the decision to go first to Bengal or come to the Deccan. The Vazir, who is, as you know, nephew of Salabat Jang, wanted to conduct his master into the Deccan, unite his forces with those of the Subhedar and together reduce the Maratha power. On the contrary, the Emperor wanted to proceed to Bengal to collect before everything a Khazina which he absolutely lack since the revolution of the last year. It is in these circumstances that Abdali advanced towards Lahore. The Vazir, without making any change in his designs, sent against him an army which was beaten, which fact determined the Emperor and the Vazir to march against this rebel in person. The action took place between Lahore and Delhi in which the Mughal had all the advantage. This sovereign has arrived at Agra where he expects to spend the rainy season. All the Rajputs of Hindustan have orders to join him in this place with their forces. The army of the Emperor, by the cares of the Vazir, a young man full of valour and capacity, is swelling out considerably and although his financial position is a little tight, he finds resources for the subsistence of the army quite numerous as it is. I can hardly tell you at present about the operations he proposes. All that will be decided during this winter. The great project, in my opinion, is to humble the Maratha power. But as it requires funds, because war with this nation is very difficult and because, moreover, the Subhedar of the Deccan is unable to furnish him any resources from this side (too happy to have himself found in this campaign the means to pay off the huge debts he owed to his troops). The Emperor might indeed put into execution the journey to Bengal or at least that to Pouroupe¹ which he had already proposed to make. This subha or government, as you know, Sir, closely adjoins that of Bengal and is in the possession of the son of ex-Vazir Mansur Ali Khan, deadly enemy of the present one, and from whom he can draw big sums. On the contrary, several persons affirm that as soon as the rains are over, the Emperor will immediately

¹ Awdh. It is difficult to understand why Bussy persists with this name.

advance towards the territory of the Rajputs to put them back in possession of the districts which the Marathas have seized from them, especially to recover from Balajirao that of Malaya a region with a big revenue, to which the Narmada serves as a boundary on the side of the Deccan. The Emperor might indeed stick to this project if the Rajputs furnished him, as it is reported, funds for this purpose. I often receive letters from all the Rajas and you can judge from all the documents whichever attached at the end of this one, what honour I or rather the nation enjoys at the Court of Delhi. The role which it plays in this part, becomes more brilliant and more important every day, and M. De Leyrit appears to take real interest in it, as you will see from some extracts of his letters.

The English, who, as I have mentioned it above, are aggrandising themselves in spite of the treaties have assigned a very modest sum to Muhammad Ali Khan and Maphus Khan, his brother, for their subsistence. The rest is left for them and sources to make serious preparations of war, as M. De Leyrit writes to me about it. They have proclaimed that they would thus favour anyone who would claim their protection. In concert with Muhammad Ali Khan or rather by borrowing his name, they had formed the design to make the Carnatic independent of the Deccan. They approached Holkar to solicit this dismemberment from the Vazir. They sent him two elephants and other presents. Those, who were entrusted with it, having learnt here about the return of Holkar, stopped on the way to demand fresh instructions, and I expect that they will not proceed further. I recall to you here who this Holkar is and by what degrees he has risen.

He began to appear on the scene in the capacity of a simple chieftain of some cavalry in the service of Balajirao's father on a salary of Rs. 100. He only lacked opportunities to rise. There appeared one by which he profited to make a reputation for himself which he has never believed. He was sent to Hindustan to help the Vazir Mansur Ali Khan and the Emperor to repulse the Pathans. His successes covered him with glory and crowned him with riches. He was very much attached to Ghazi-ud-din Khan, brother of Salabat Jang. It was he who brought him against the latter to Aurangabad where he died without fulfilling his object. Holkar then returned to Hindustan laden

with the riches of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the father, which he faithfully returned to the son, and since then considers this young prince as his ward. Before his departure from Aurangabad, Salabat Jang and I had taken the precaution to get a promise from him under an oath that he will not bring Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the son, against Salabat Jang. He has been faithful to his word and his oath. I can even say in his praise that he has been on all occasions an admirable prodigy of honesty in a country in which it is hardly known. On his return to Delhi, he was not a little embarrassed. On the one hand, his oath bound him; on the other the ambition of young Ghazi-ud-din Khan, who was second to none in that of his father, pressed him to break it and pressed him all the more earnestly to had him to the Deccan as he had then quarrelled with the Emperor. Nevertheless, Holkar constantly resisted it because of the word he had given. But to compensate this prince for the claims which he indeed him to renounce, he employed all sorts of intrigues and manoeuvres to procure for him the post of the Vazir by outsting Canekanum¹, maternal uncle of the young Ghazi-ud-din Khan, who had succeeded Mansur Ali Khan. When Holkar met with insurmountable resistance from the Emperor, he would not accept a failure. After exhausting the usual means of politics, he had recourse to those of force. He fomented the revolution of which I narrated to you the detail at that time. He plundered the camp of the Emperor, Ahmad Shah. This unfortunate prince sought his salvation in vain in his flight. Holkar chased him as far as Delhi where he accomplished the revolution. Ahmad Shah had his eyes put out, and Alamgir, second of the name, the reigning Emperor, was put in his place. Ghazi-ud-din Khan obtained the post of the Vazir and has preserved it since. It was quite natural that his gratitude should leave to Holkar all the authority with which he had been first invested. But in Asia, when one says gratitude, he uses an empty word, and this virtue is less practiced in this country than in any other. By his intrigues, Ghazi-ud-din Khan has so well managed that he has expelled Holkar, his benefactor. He has arrived on the banks of the Narmada with Raghoba, Balajirao's brother, whom latter had associated with Holkar.

1. Khankhanan.

The slowness and fatigues of this campaign did not permit me to go our districts. I am at Hyderabad where the affairs of our Circars, those of the Marathas, those of the Darbar of Salabat Jang, the settlement of our black troops and more than all that the balances which must be paid to them for the last campaign in spite of the arrears of our farmers who are all the more inclined to leave in arrears as much as they can, whom the rumour which our rivals continue to spread of a retrocession of these districts and a general abandonment on our part of all that we possess, renders difficult to govern and slow to pay. All that gives me so many troubles that I shall be very happy if I do not go mad in the midst of this labyrinth of affairs.

You can finally, Sir, present to the Minister and to the Company this tranquillity and this peace which they desire. I speak of the part in which I am and of the affairs of the Deccan, with which I am charged for, I do not think that I am held responsible for the troubles of that in which I am not. Everything is also tranquil in our districts under mortgage and in the domains of the Company. The possibility that our antagonists may undertake in this part, I mean on the Orissa Coast, some military enterprises, I cannot presume it unless there is an open war between the two nations. They are so convinced that they have no plausible reasons to thwart us in the possession of these domains that they had made and are perhaps still making in Europe and very certainly in Asia, all the imaginable efforts to make the affairs of this part common with those of Arcot.

Salabat Jang is thus today solidly established and recognised by all the powers which could thwart him in the possession of the heritage of his forefathers. Since the last two years this solid peace has not been broken. There is even no likelihood that it would be disturbed by the revolutions quite common in the Asiatic government.

It is sad for those, who are charged with an important mission in distant countries, that the correspondence is not more frequent. The anxieties which certain embarrassing circumstances cannot fail to cause would be soon dispelled. Moreover, you know that the Mughal government does not admit of this tranquillity and this harmony which are found in the European governments. In Asia, the same day sees the flames of war kindled and extinguished.

You know better than any one else the advantages which this peace, so desirable and to which I have directed all my operations, can procure to the Company for its trade and its domains. Will so many pains and labours, therefore, remain useless? Will so much glory end only in a conspicuous dishonour? Kings placed on the throne by my hands, supported by my forces, large armies put to flight, towns carried away by assault by my handful of men, treaties of peace concluded by my single mediation, guaranteed, kept and renewed by the mere fear of displeasing me, my alliance sought by all the powers of the Mughal Empire, my friendship purchased at the cost of riches and vast domains which the Company possesses, powerful ministers opposed to the interests of my nation removed and replaced at my will, employments and favours distributed by my favour and my channel, the honour of my nation carried to a point of glory which caused it to be preferred so far to all those of Europe, and the boundaries of the interests of the Company carried beyond its expectations and even its desires. No, Sir, that cannot be believed and can be so only by demonstrative proofs. However, all that, Sir, is your work and I have been only the instrument for it. It is very unfortunate for me that after using my days, my youth and my temperament (and which sometimes costs men still more), after sacrificing my fortune, if the insinuations of some evil-minded people have prevailed over truth and made me lose in the mind of the Minister and the Company the most precious fruit of my operations, which is the consideration which I believed I deserved by the labour solely undertaken and constantly supported for its service. They have trumpeted, it is said, too loudly my fortune in Europe. This point touches me deeply, since jealousy, which impudently spreads these reports, exaggerates my fortune only to diminish my glory. Besides, I ought to laugh at the indecent reports which they have spread and which they will probably still spread on my account I pity them and abandon them all to their grief. One is very strong and one can assume a firm tone when one has behaved as I have always done. You know better than anyone else the aim of my operations and my successes. It is to this judgement that I appeal against so many others engendered by motive or ignorance or by both at the same time. Let, therefore, the jealous think all that they like. The time which I am spending in this country is a real sacrifice which

I am making for the public weal, especially in the present circumstances when the interests of my mother country are in peril. My fortune and my glory have no longer anything to gain in it. If the rewards are not granted to for so many services, I no more know on what grounds one can expect them.

One more letter, you tell me, Sir, that supposes others. I do not know by what fatality they have not reached me. What I know definitely is that they could have given me a pleasure which I can judge by that which I felt when I received the letter which you wrote to me from the Cape of Good Hope. No, Sir, no one will ever be more acutely touched than I by all that will contribute to the happiness of your days. I am extremely delighted to learn about safe voyage up to the Cape and have expressed thousand prayers for your safe arrival in France. I am no longer worried about your success since I learnt about the change of scene.¹ [The events that have taken place since your departure impart the most favourable shade to your picture. The eyes of prejudice as well as of favour are useless for you. You need only those of discernment and equity. I know on what grounds the new Minister has declared himself in your favour, and I see it; the homage which he publicly renders to your quality is the one which concerns you most deeply. It is quite appropriate, for, it is the finest trophy which you could win over your enemies. You were right, Sir, in wishing for the arrival of the ship *Le Lis* before your departure from the Cape of Good Hope. M. de Beaubriand informs me how he has been delighted to meet you there and communicate to you thousand flattering things for you. It would be useless to point out to you what he has said about them. You know everything at present. But nothing, in fact, could give me greater pleasure. I badly needed that something should come and appease my alarms on your fate and on that of the affairs, and support my aversion. I do not know what powerful attraction, but I conjecture it, attracts me more than ever towards my home. Faithful to my word, I resisted the violent temptation which tormented me since your departure, and I shall resist, I hope, till the news I receive from you, after which nothing will stop me except your return to India. They have written to one

1. The minister holding the post of the Controller-General has been replaced.

with what ardour the family of Monsieur de Conflans had taken up the cudgels for you. I do not doubt that he himself would go through fire for you. The sentiments, which I discern in him, warrant me for it. He must have acted and spoken with all the greater success as he must have arrived at the most favourable conjuncture. Nothing equals the impatience with which I await the volume he must undoubtedly written to me by the last vessels which have left France. He continues to be carried on the lists for his salary. M. Godeheu had replied to me on this subject in a manner very ambiguous for M. de Conflans. But M. De Leyrit has corrected the wrong of his predecessor in a suitable tone and manner, and the salary of M. De Conflans will be paid on Condavir.

Our ships have brought some troops, but the English have brought many more. They are making preparations of war. I cannot foresee their designs, but I cannot foresee anything good for us, if the Company does not completely close its eyes on illusions and open them only on its real politics.

M. De Montaran has written to me quite an obliging letter. He appears to be friendly to you. He exhorts me to endeavour for peace. There is no semblance of a war for the present except in what occupies me in the Deccan. You know it, I have more to fear from the intrigues of the Cabinet than from the fire of the gun. The troubles which have reigned and which might still reign cannot be imputed to me.

I have at last received your packets from the Isle of France and Bourbon with all the documents which concern the accounts of the different individuals which I had lost out of sight. You will be in a better position than any one to render in France an exact account of the situation of these Isles in view of the troubles which you took there during your stay. And M. de Rostaing and Hermance will receive, from the report which you will make of their labours, the satisfaction which they ought to receive from it.

Your perserverance, Sir, would have undoubtedly brought the things to the point of perfection so desirable. There is yet nothing to despair; the latest orders which the Commissioner received were very different from those which he had brought with him. The firmness,

with which I represented the interests of the nation without however, deviating from the respect which I owed to his office, caused him to make reflections. You will complete the work in France where I hope you will be listened to.

You must have been very much surprised to hear about his return to Europe. I even heard it said that he expected to be there before you. M. Diore, as I have said it to you, was bearer of all the documents which you desire. But he writes to me from the Isle of Bourbon where he halts, that his ship was so wind-bound while leaving India that it could not attempt the Cape of Good Hope. He did not know that this ship, to which orders had been given to leave out places, had secret ones, from what is reported, not to do anything of the sort. I wish I could send you a duplicate of all these documents, but it is so late that I am very much afraid that this letter might not arrive sufficiently in time to reach in October. Moreover, I do not know how to send you packets; everything is opened and intercepted. That is what had led me to send you M. Diore.

I have not received the letter which you announce to me from Madame from the Isle of France, but indeed that which she had the kindness to write to me from the Cape of Good Hope.

The sentiments, which are spread in your letters, penetrate me with the deepest gratitude. You assure me that they will never change. I admit to you that that is all the satisfaction which I desire. As for mine, Sir, India reverberates and France will, reverberate, I hope, the striking proof which I have given since your departure.

Not only Salabat Jang but all the Mughal nobles often speak of the Governor Bahaddur. No sooner had M. Le Godeheu left than the report of your return spread in all the Deccan. I allow all the nations to cherish this idea. It does not harm our affairs very far from it. M. Diore writes to me that you found the means to win the adoration of the two Isles and that they speak of nothing but of your generosity and your magnanimity.

I shall not speak to you at all of my personal interests. I leave it to you to take steps for the purchase of an estate or take such other course which would be advantageous to me. I have only written to

my brother and to M. Marion to have talks with you so as to invest advantageously the money which you have in your hands and which will perhaps be all the fortune which my labours have procured me, for, as for the sums which are due to me and about which you have the documents herewith, although M. De Leyrit has assured me the payment of it on Condavir. I do not know when or how I shall receive the payment.

(Extracts of the letters of Monsieur de Leyrit to Monsieur de Bussy, dated 13th June 1755, 28th June 1755, 29th July 1755 and 17th August 1755, are not reproduced here, because their very letters have been included in their proper order.)

Monsieur Marion and my brother write to me about their embarrassment in connection with the engagements which they have taken, as they cannot meet them because of lack of funds which your brother has been unable to remit to them. I hope that you will be kind enough to remedy it. I expect it from you, for, I doubt whether I can send a single farthing (from here) so soon.

I wish, you, Sir, the best health. Please send me your news. I await it to take my decision, for, I remained bound to the chair only to support your work. I shall love you all my life like a tender father to whom I owe everything. Thousand embraces.

De Bussy.

P.S.—M. de Leyrit writes to me that the honour of the nation no longer flutters but with one wing on the coast. I am sending you his letter.

C² 86, f. 48 v^o-50 v^o.

Hyderabad, November 8, 1755.

Sir,

The preparations for the campaign, with which everyone is occupied, preclude anything, interesting for the present. As the affairs and the plans which were meditated during the monsoon quarters develop, I shall communicate them to you with a punctuality which will not leave anything for you to be desired. The Nawab is under canvas where I led him some days back. I am occupied with putting my army in a position to set out. It is not a small thing to provide for everything concerning equipment and artillery. In spite of a little late arrival of the arms and munitions, we had to carry out our preparations with speed.

This delay, which I am careful to prolong in view of the goods with which M. Duplant is charged will not procure a quick sale. All the measures are taken so far as the sugar is concerned. It will be lifted, I hope, and sold as soon as it arrives here. The woollens would have been distributed if they had arrived. While discharging accounts of the sipahees I would have disposed of a large part of it in pay. Each one has purchased his equipment for the campaign, and is furnished. However, I do not despair of finding an opening. The affairs of our districts are entirely terminated and advantageously. I shall shortly send you all these statements with the list of this army.

M. de la Selle has written to me to bid me his goods-bye. The reply I have given to him indicates sufficiently what the style of his letter is and the choice of his expressions. I am sending you herewith the copy of my reply. Thus, our epistolary war has ended. If it had still lasted, I would have renounced everything. I do not like fights of this type. I am awaiting the return of M. Duplant. If the mission, with which he is entrusted, fits in with his stay at Rajahmundry our correspondence more useful, void of all dispute, will have as its goal nothing but the prosperity of the affairs which will go on increasing, although M. de la Selle forecasts its coming decadence after his departure.

I have established M. Reymond here as a general storekeeper for all the articles you have sent us for the army, for which I thank you in the name of all the officers. I have placed all the other goods under the care of a nobleman called Hyder Jang who is attached to me, and I am endeavouring for a quick disposal. You must have known who this Hyder Jang is. He is the son of the former governor of Machchalipatnam, whose father died in my arms. The son is attached to the nation. He is related to all the grandees. I request you to write to him a short letter to tell him that I have not left you in the dark about his attachment for the nation and the services which he renders on the occasions when I employ him.

I am very anxious for not having received your news. I think that it is due to the departure of the ships. I would be very sorry if it was some indisposition, for, no one takes more interest in your health than I.

I would be very happy to learn that you have received my letters of the 9th and 26th of September. The bills of exchange for 25,000 pagodas from the Council of Machchalipatnam on that of Pondicherry was with the second, and a copy of my letter of the 9th December 1754 to M. Le Godeheu with the first.

You have also herewith the second copy of that for Rs. 100,000 which I have also requested you to send to Europe to the same address. This one could no doubt leave only in January. I shall be immensely obliged to you if you send me here its duplicate.

I am also very anxious to know if you have received the letter which the Nawab has written to the English, to Muhammad Ali Khan and to the Killedar of Vellore on the subject of the levy of tributes which the former proposed to collect.

The 9th.

I left this letter open till today. We are going to receive a firman from the Emperor for Salabat Jang by which he appoints him Maderelmoulouk¹. Please write to him two words of congratulations on the new title and his convalescence.

1. Madovul Mulk.

I learn that M. de Naronha, who, I believed, had gone to Goa, is in the retinue of this brigand of a Muzaffar Khan, and is ravaging the territory of Vijapur which adjoins Savnur-Bankapur of which of the plunder he gives the half to the fouzdar of the latter place. M. de Noronha is in a very bad company. Muzaffar Khan offered his services to Murarao who has refused them, and the former has written to me in order to obtain for him a jahagir on the side of Savnur, dependent on the zamindar and not on the sarkar of the Nawab.

The Waquils of Murarrao are here incognito. Balajirao continues to exhort us not to listen to them. They have shown me all the letters that have passed between their master and the Angre who offers to furnish him all the expenses to make war against Balajirao whose troubles are increasing from day to day on the side of Hindustan. He has, however, left Poona and has made some marches in the south. In a few days the Waquils of Murarrao will bring me the demands of their master in writing. I have recommended to those whom I employ in this affair the matter which concerns us Abdul Majid Khan, fauzdar of Cudappa, wants to settle his affairs through my mediation.

I shall communicate to you all those which I shall settle.

Big movements continue on the other side of the Narmada.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 86, f. 50 v^o-56.

Hyderabad, November 17, 1755.

Sir,

The letter which you wrote to me on the 28th of the last month reached me in the midst of pains from a violent colic, sequence of a bout of fever from which I had suffered. One does not know to what to attribute this kind of illness. But almost everyone suffers from it. To reply to your letter with greater precision I shall follow the order of the items it contains.

I was infomed by your previous ones of the truce concluded between France and England. I wish, like you, to hear soon about its confirmation. I am occupied with the representations which are very often made to me by the Darbar on the subject of the revenues of Arcot and the person to whom it should address itself to obtain the accounts.

I request you to count on me, Sir, as an another yourself to support you in everything which depends on me in case war recommences (which I do not wish at all). I shall also send you a copy of the powers which M. Dupleix had given me on my return to the Deccan. On this subject, Sir, I can hardly thank you and tell you how much I am sensible of your conduct.

I can also give you a solid assurance ; Sir, that I am giving all my attention to see that revenues of the Four Sarkars suffice for the maintenace of this army without touching those from the dependencies of Machchalipatnam, and I expect to succeed in it, and that consequently, there might even be some profits for the Company. But we must beforehand finish paying off the debts of the Deccan assigned on Condavir. I had promised to M. Le Godeheu to meet everything in one end a half year and I shall succeed in it, since the Saukars are entirely paid and no more than Rs. 1,33,245 remain to be paid to different noblemen as I have pointed to you previously. This sum, combined with that which is due to me, will not amount to half of the revenues of Condavir. All my attention is, therefore, to fixed on adjusting the expenses in proportion to the revenues of your districts. But it has not been possible for me to pay off the debts of which you know the origin without the help of the other domains of the Company. Most scrupulous economy is observed over all expenses; without that I would not have had such a contentious correspondence with M. de la Selle.

It will not be difficult to persuade the Nawab to oppose the independence which Muhammad Ali Khan and his supporters would like to obtain for the subha of Arcot and shake off the yoke of the Deccan in order to be answerable only to Delhi. The Nawab is interested in it. That suffices in him not to sleep over it. But the success of Muhammad Ali Khan might induce the Darbar to address itself to him for the revenues of the Carnatic, and if it once asked him, it would mean recognising him as master of this province. For, it is only in

this right that it can demand them from him. All that, Sir, makes me foresee many difficulties for the peace. However, there is a door which can lead to it, and I shall shortly open it for you, but for you alone, because I am afraid it is a jib door. If you have knowledge of all the affairs of India, you will every instance notice the falsehood and the injustice of the conduct of the English who recognise or reject the authority and the powers of Salabat Jang, (as you point it out) according as it suits their interest. The letters of Mr. Saunders to Salabat Jang and the continuous offers of Muhammad Ali Khan to the Darbar sufficiently prove the solidity of your reflections on this question and the dispositons of the English for peace. I think that now they (the authorities in France) must have opened their eyes in Europe on their conduct.

Nothing confirms here the news, which the Swiss officer has given you, that the Marathas are supported by a corps of the English of Bombay in their march against the Angre.

By sending you the letters of Salabat Jang for Muhammad Ali Khan and the others, I have followed the beaten track. But your reflection is just and founded on a prudent and wise politics, and I shall completely nothing more just, Sir, than what you say on the situation in which you found the affairs on your arrival. I can assure you, Sir, without being charged with flattery, that you cannot conduct yourself with greater wisdom and firmness than you have done, and if you had the kindness to render me justice vis-a-vis the Minister and the Company. I dare say to you, Sir, although my apprehension is not necessary for you and is of no weight, I call you as the restorer of the glory of the nation and the support of the Company of which, the arrangements, which we had undoubtedly been forced to make, had exposed the interests.

Your reflections on the first letter of the Vazir, to which those which I have lastly sent you, must have given a new field, are in keeping with our situation, and the plan of conduct which you prescribe to me on this point (which is the only sound one) is precisely the one which I am practising. For, no one feeds himself less on chimeras than I, the solid alone touches me when it is a question of general welfare. The recommendation, which you make to me at the end of this

item of your letter, has already been executed, since in my replies not only to the Emperor and the Vazir but to all the noblemen in Hindustan, I refer everything to the chief of the nation. But you know, like me, the customs of the Asiatics; it is not possible to reform their ideas and their usage on certain things. Since nearly six years that I have been at the head of the affairs in the Deccan, I have never assumed the slightest independence. I have never negotiated except in the name of the nation and the chief who represents it. That is so true that in spite of the services which speak in my favour, there is no mention made of me. Although in France important services are never forgotten you remains unrecognised, nevertheless I have not yet had the consolation to hear that they are known and that they are approved. It is because up to you, Sir, everything has been presented as the work of the chief of the nation. It is what I shall still follow with greater pleasure to-day. I owe this gratitude to all your friendly services, and I shall be quite satisfied with your esteem and your affection.

We must certainly (as you point it out) maintain correspondence with the Court of Delhi very secretly, not only because of the English but even of the Darbar who would perhaps take umbrage at it.

I know, Sir, that the enemies who are opposed to you are in every respect of a rank much superior to those whom we have here at the head. I do not think I am magnifying the objects by founding greater hopes on the firmness and the prudence of the chief who commands us today. But I am very far thinking and saying that the nation has fallen into ignominy. And if one can give this turning to some of my phrases, I disown it completely, since supposing that it had fallen, no one is more capable than you, Sir, of raising it up again. I shall also pay attention, as you prescribe, to the expression which I could use. And if they are found some where which are susceptible of a meaning which might displease you, I condemn them this very moment.

If Muhammad Ali Khan and his supporters force the pategars to pay contributions, they will, by this proceeding, excite the thirst of the Darbar of Salabat Jang, and the danger is that the paravana may be more vigorously solicited. If the Killedar of Vellore is attacked, as he is an ally of the French, the English will be the first to violate the

truce. I do to think that Muhammad Ali Khan can derive great advantage from the Nawab of Cudappa. The latter is vigorously soliciting me to settle his affairs with Salabat Jang, and probably we shall march in these points.

M. de la Selle is at present at Machchalipatnam; thus all in over. I await M. Duplant, and after some talk on his new administration, he will leave for Rajahmundry with the Waquils who are still here.

I offer you my thanks, Sir, for the dispatch of the bills of exchange of which I received the third copy. Reverend Father Lavour has also sent me a note for what concerned him. I am on all these points, Sir, penetrated with the greatest gratitude to you.

Some indisposition, combined with the difficulties of the return from the campaign, did not permit me to give the last touch to the statements which I announced to you.

Even if I were not filled with esteem, friendship and goodwill to oblige M. Dupassage senior, it suffices that you are interested in him so that your recommendation, which I consider as an order, should have full effect which you ought to expect from it, and however numerous may be the staff of this army, as you can see it from the list attached herewith, you can carry out, Sir, your ideas on this subject. Whatever desire I have to oblige, M. Law, I have struck off his name from the lists since he cannot come here so soon. My friendship cannot prevail over the general welfare. M. Duplan because of his new destination, will certainly compensate us, by sparing us his salary as commissary for that of M. de Conflans or its mortgage on the province of Condavir till the month of October. I have paid more than half of that of M. de Montmelan from our Four Sarkars.

I have received the packets which the ship *Silhouette* had carried to Bengal and consequently your seals. I shall write only by first and second copies as you wish it. I shall send you the letter of Monsieur Le Godeheu of the 23rd September as well as the translation of that which the Emperor wrote to me.

I have just probed the object of the secret correspondence of Muhammad Ali Khan with the fauzdar of Caddapah who was actually on his frontier with 3,000 to 4,000 cavalry. The latter was the first to propose to Muhammad Ali Khan to help him and cross the Ghats, but the conditions which were to harsh were unacceptable, at this fauzdar returned to Caddapah from where he earnestly solicited my mediation to settle his affairs with the Nawab. Our operations will be directed during this campaign, I think, to these parts. Thus, we shall be nearer each other for our correspondence.

You must have now received the first of the two lakhs which I announced to you. I am taking steps to send you the other. The mansabdar, who was bearer of your sarpech, must have also arrived. The major part of the goods, munitions of war, and provisions which you had the kindness to send us have also arrived. You have behaved, Sir, as kind father of a family. Never was this army so well provided. We all thank you for it while assuming you of our gratitude. The uniforms meant for the soldiers are very well conditioned and the French detachment, which is dressed in them to day, feels all the better for it with the exception of a few invalids whom I have sent back to Machchalipatnam, including a sergeant who has only one arm.

I intended to reduce the staff of this army by sending back still some more of the seniors. But, Sir, I admit to you that I could not resist the representations of several who pleaded in such a touching manner that you would have been affected by it and that you would have accused me of harshness if I had been insensible of it.

Before ending my letter, I shall offer you an observation, Sir, on Rs. 1,33,245 which remain to be paid in the Deccan. It is that I shall perhaps be very fortunate to pay them off on the revenues of the Four Sarkars, because those to whom they are due care my close friends, in a position to wait and demand no interest.

I would be very happy if you would also settle my expense and my salary for which I have touched nothing since my return to the Deccan in the month of June 1753, in order to avoid any occasion for wrangling subsequently. For what concerns me, I shall give, if you agree to it, rescriptions to the sahlukars for the sums I have borrowed

from them; the rest will subsequently come. According to this arrangement the Company will enjoy this year, with the exception of a few lakhs, the entire revenues of the dependencies of Machchalipatnam.

You will see from the statement attached herewith that I have received all the hussars who were at Machchalipatnam. M. de Moracin had written to me that your intention was to send only half of them. But as I had announced here cavalry and as the emissaries of the Vazir continue to be here, I asked for all of them, and I hope that you will not disapprove my step. Moreover, it is less expense for the factory of Machchalipatnam where they can still reduce it as much as they like whilst we are with the Subhedar of the Deccan.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

P.S.—Holkar has joined Balajirao only with 50 cavalrymen.

C² 86, f. 56-57.

Hyderabad, November 23, 1755.

Sir,

You were very right in observing that the expenses always exceeded the contemplated calculations. I have just experienced it. The list, which I have sent you, has still registered an increase. M. la Vernie, who forget M. Book, a young Scotsman, brother of the one who is in this army, has come, like many others, to seek his bread. The touching representations of several, as I have pointed out to you, did not permit me to execute entirely my plan to further make a reform in the staff. In spite of all that, I hope to reach the goal which I have proposed to myself.

M. Book, junior, commanded one of the ships of M. Moracin. On his return from Bengal he met with a squall which dismasted his ship. He informed me that this tempest had destroyed 35 ships on the coast from the Palmiras Point to beyond Srikakulam among which there is, he says, an English vessel whose cargo could be worth

Rs. 50,000. The super cargo went to implore the help of the Nawab of Srikakulam (Ibrahim Khan). The latter helped him and asked him to sign the statement of the goods saved, which amounted to Rs. 5,000. The supercargo, when he arrived at Vishakhapatnam, told the Governor that he had signed the note out of fear. Whatever it may be, I lost you with this incident, so that if some occasion for quarrels was sought from it, you should be acquainted with it. I am writing to Ibrahim Khan to find out exactly what the fact is. I shall send you his reply without any delay.

To-day is the 25th instant. The Waquil Balajirao, usually resident with Salabat Jang, who had left at the orders of his master, is to return in a few days, and his arrival will throw light on many things, which we ought to know, to decide the operations of this campaign. There is nothing definite on the side of Hindustan since my last letter. Always the same probability that we shall proceed to the south.

I have just learnt that Balajirao had sent a sufficiently large corps of troops on the side of Bassein. Would it be some movement on the part of the Portuguese, irrevocable enemies of this Maratha? or the confirmation of the news which you gave me of the expedition against the Angre. I shall know more about it in a few days.

All the goods of M. Duplant would have been sold, if he had sent me an invoice with the price at which he wanted to sell. Almost all the sugar is at a very advantageous price, at a profit of 81 per cent, all expenses deducted. There would have been a large profit on the goods which he brought, if it was possible to bring them here in the course of July.

How I would be flattered, Sir, to send you as New Year's gift the waiver of the sums which Murarrao claims.

M. Duplant arrived yesterday. I am occupied with the departure. However, I have a long letter in hand for you.

I remain with the most respectful devotion, Sir, etc.

C^a 86, f. 218-223v^o.
Pondicherry, December 19, 1755.

Sir,

I am replying to your three letters, dated the 8th, 17th and 23rd November.

I am awaiting the news which you promise me on the Nawab's decision the next campaign. Assuredly, Balajirao's conduct will decide its destination.

I am happy that M. de la Selle himself decided to retire from Rajahmundry; his retirement became necessary. You are indeed free to replace him by M. Duplant in whom, I have no doubt, you will find dispositions which respond to the views which you may have for the welfare of the affairs with which you charge him. His correspondence with you, simpler and more uniform, will cause you less embarrassment than that of M. de la Selle, which was not less annoying for him than for you. It is beyond doubt that the arrangements which you had made with your farmers for the collection of your revenues are better than those which he purposed, and I cannot but approve them.

I appreciate your appointment of M. Raymond as a general store-keeper for all the items which were sent to you for the army. This economical measure will remedy many abuses and wastes.

I am writing to Endesingue,¹ as you point out to me, to communicate to him that you have informed me of his attachment to the nation and of the services which he renders you whenever you employ him, and how sensible I am of them. Herewith is my letter. I am also writing to the Nawab to congratulate him on the title of Mader-el-Mulk which he has just received from the Emperor as also on his convalescence. His letter to me while sending me his sarpech indeed requires from me a reply which I shall give at the time of the departure of the mansabdar who brought it to me.

What can I say about the conduct of M. de Naronha? It is a disgrace for those who support him.

1. Hyder Jang.

The English have spread a report here that their squadron, which left for the Malabar Coast, has seized Gheria, the principal port and the residence of the King of the Angre's. If this news is confirmed, the projected league between the latter and Murarrao against Balajirao will not materialise and will end in smoke like the majority of the projects of the people of this country. That of inducing Murarrao to renounce the sums, which he demands from us, must not be lost out of sight, and I have every reason to hope that you will bring it to a satisfactory conclusion. Murarrao demands 13 lakhs from us while M. Dupleix maintains that only hundred and sixty thousand rupees are due to him. If you come to these quarters, you will be in a better position to terminate his affair as well as that of the fouzdar of Cud-dapah. It is reported that the former has 160 Europeans in his army and that he has written in all directions to enrol them.

I am happy that your colic attacks did not have consequences. We shall not be long in getting the confirmation of the truce concluded for two years between France and England. The Darbar of Salabat Jang must really have patience for one more year on the question of the revenues of Arcot, if, as I have every ground to think so, this news is confirmed.

You should not doubt that I shall have in you all the confidence you deserve in case the war happens to recommence, which I as well as you do not wish because of the attentions and troubles which we are taking here. We have today a sufficient number of good troops, but if the revenues, which we enjoy in the north as well as the south, do not suffice for the actual expenses, what would be the position in case of war? You are quite right in concentrating all your attention to diminish the expenses of your army as much as it is possible, and adjust them to the revenues of the Four Circars which have been assigned to you for its maintenance.

The debts of the Deccan which do not amount to more than Rs. 1,33,245 for what is due to the various Mughal noblemen, added to the sums which are due to you and to M. Moracin, come to a very large amount and will take away the largest part of this year's revenues of the district of Condavir.

It would be difficult for me to believe that because of the favourable dispositions of the Court of Delhi for Salabat Jang, it will dismember the Government of Arot from that of the Deccan, in favour of Muhammad Ali who is hardly known there, and I am convinced that it will be easy for Salabat Jang to destroy the batteries which Muhammad Ali Khan can raise there to succeed in his goal. Moreover, I do not see that anything should still induce the Darbar of Salabat Jang to address itself to Muhammad Ali Khan for the revenues of the province which are divided between us, the English or Muhammad Ali Khan and the tributary noblemen who have remained masters of their fortresses and jahagirs which are attached to it. He would find it very difficult today to procure anything from it unless he transported himself in person into these parts and made himself master of the whole Carnatic, which cannot be done today as you ought indeed to realise it.

The contributions which the English have levied so far from the pategars in the north of Arcot are said to amount to Rs. 1,50,000. It has been reported to me that the Killedar of Vellore has sent them or rather to Muhammad Ali, a secour of 200 to 300 cavalry and some companies of sipahees. I had sent him a word to reassure him against the threats of the English, but as they are masters of Arcot, their vicinity undoubtedly worries him. Besides, he is an extremely suspicious man, and I think that he does not fear less having us as friends than the English as enemies.

The pallegars are creating lot of trouble for Maphus Khan in Madura and Tirunelveli with the result that the English will collect only very little from these two districts which, however, yield much produce.

This is nearly the situation of affairs in these parts. I shall be delighted to receive all the information which you can give me to arrive at the arrangements which are contemplated, and I would be delighted if you could open for us a door which would lead us to an honourable and advantageous end.

I have informed you by my last letter of the use I decided to make of the letters of Salabat Jang for Murtaza Ali Khan and

Muhammad Ali at the arrival of the mansabdar who brought me his sarpech. The bearers of these letters have not yet returned, and that is what has led me to defer to this day giving leave to the mansabdar.

How I wish I could deserve the praises which you have showered on me by calling me the restorer of the glory of the nation and the support of the Company. The Ministers and the Company will be undoubtedly delighted to see the agreement between your views and mine for the re-establishment of the affairs, and they will judge my confidence in you for the favourable account which I could not fail to give them of your services which I shall always have great pleasure in communicating to them at the proper time. You would find yourself in a fine career and in a vast stretch if the Controller General approves of the ideas which I hazarded to him on the occasion of the letter and the proposals of the Vazir.

The opinion, which you indeed wish to have of me, corresponds to the sentiments which the honour I have to command the nation in India inspire in me. I am very sensible of it, and I can only thank you for it.

I think that I have already communicated to you my intentions in case Muhammad Ali Khan and his supporters had attacked the Killedar of Vellore. Truce would have certainly been broken. But this Killedar has succeeded in it (parrying the blow) by the most cowardly decision which he could take. He is, as I have already said it, a man full of mistrust and avaricious.

It would be very unfortunate if Muhammad Ali Khan could obtain the paravana for the province of Arcot without our participation and against our consent. I think it is in the interest of Salabat Jang to know, before granting it, what the intentions of the Court of France are on this question. I rely entirely on your vigilance to counter the impressions which the solicitations of the emissaries of Muhammad Ali Khan might create in the Darbar, and prevent their effects. The superiority of this would be Nawab in the province of Arcot is not yet sufficiently well established so that Salabat Jang should decide in his favour.

M. Dupassage is ready for his departure. He intends to follow the land-route to proceed to your camp. When you know him well, I am

convinced that you will be satisfied to have him in your army. M. Law has not said anything to me on the cut you intend to make in his salary until his return. The posts of the commissary which M. Duplant occupied ought to be abolished if you send him to Rajahmundry.

I shall receive only at the end of January the hundred thousand Cuddalore rupees which you have sent me in a bill of exchange. Take the measurers so that the second one of the same value, which you want to deliver to me, reaches me at the earliest, in order that there should not be here any difficulty on the question of that which you wish to have on the Company for the total of these two sums at the time of the departure of the ship, which I intend to dispatch in January.

I am very delighted that you are satisfied with the dispatch in munitions of war, provisions and articles for your army. In a letter which M. Duplant wrote to me from Machchalipatnam, he informs me that you haven't sufficient bullets. In this case, it would be his mistake. I shall wait until you ask me to send them to you.

It would be desirable if you could diminish the staff of your army, which evcluding your salary, alone costs about Rs. 3,50,000; it is too much; the seniors ought to make room for others. On the return from the next campaign, try to make the retrenchment. You write to me that you can pay Rs. 1,33,245, which remain to be paid in the Deccan, on the Four Circars. I do not foresee that you can succeed in it unless you make a considerable reduction in the expenses of your army, which amount to Rs. 18,58,471-50, according to your statement whilst the revenues of the Circars amount only Rs. 18,40,501.

I had imagined that your salary had been regulated by M. Dupleix. As I am not sufficiently informed of the state of your expense to decide anything on this subject, it is for you, Sir, to explain yourself on your just and reasonable claims.

I am not too happy about your withdrawal of all the hussars from Machchalipatnam, but as I think that they could be useful to you, I consent to their remaining with you. You tell me that it will be

a less expense for Machchalipatnam. It is quite true, but the garrison of this place will also be less strong, and moreover, M. Moracin is pressing me to send him some Cavalry.

It will be very difficult for you to reduce the expense of your staff, if you do not harden a little against the representations of the officers who wish to remain with you. I everyday myself experience how it costs to often refuse to persons whom you would like to oblige, but we must indeed sometimes stiffen. I cannot, therefore, but insist on the reduction of this expense. Besides, M. Book, whom you wish to oblige, will not increase the expense much.

I am afraid that the ship *La Favorite*, whom I dispatched to Bengal in the month of September, has suffered from the gale of which you speak to me. This ship has not yet reached there, although it had left before the departure of the ship *Thevenepatam* which has arrived there.

You do not write to me if, what has been saved from the English ship, which perished in this gale, was returned to the supercargo, or if the Nawab of Srikakulam (Ibrahim Khan), has kept it. Moreover, I approve the precaution which Ibrahim Khan has taken to make him sign a statement, and you will oblige me if you send me the reply which Ibrahim Khan will give you on this subject.

I see that you expected the return of the Vakil of Balajirao, who had proceeded to his master's presence, to regulate the operations of the campaign. I shall not be sorry if it is decided in favour of the south. Although I would like, insomuch as you were against Balajirao, if you could destroy or at least humble the power of this Maratha, but I do not foresee that there is reason to hope so unless the Emperor took a hand in it.

According to the news which I have received from Mysore, there is much division in the family of the Raja whom the Dalvais wish to oust to put another prince of his family in his place. The faction of Nand Raj, our ally, is the most powerful. Moreover, it has been reported to me that one of the parties has written to Salabat Jang to invit him come to Mysore. If it was so, and if this proposal suited the Nawab, it could be an occasion by which you might profit to oblige Nand Raj to pay

twenty lakhs and odd rupees which he owes to us and settle the affairs of this region and in a manner to secure for us the succour in case of war. We would derive great advantage from it; it would even be necessary for us to check the English on the side of Tiruchchirappalli whilst we would operate in the province of Arcot, for, it would not be advisable to let them enjoy the revenues there tranquilly. On the other hand, it would be at the same time desirable if we could shut the entry of this province to Murarrao by seizing the places which he possesses in the passes of the mountains, like Venkatagiri and another place which he possesses in the territory of Cuddapa. You could have the guard of it given to some Mughal noblemen, attached to the nation and of whom you could be sure. The execution of these ideas, brought to a satisfactory conclusion, would put us in a position to begin well if the authorities decided in favour of war.

Here is some fresh news which has just been communicated to me : that on the 7th instant Muhammad Ali Khan withdrew the English flag from Arcot and hoisted his and gave to the abovementioned town the name of Mahomedenour. On this occasion, he had several gun salutes fired. Moreover, he had publicised that in future he would be called Oumde Toulmoulk Siragard d' Anoulla Bahadour de la Verzingue, and this under pain of punishment and fine to whomsoever would call him otherwise. It is reported that he has already collected several large sums from different palegars, among others from Bom Raja. These tributes appear to me of consequence for us, if the reports are well founded. I think that it is essential to inform Salabat Jang and his Darbar about it so that they should oppose it authoritatively and prevent the abuses which might result from them. It is easy to sound them; and I do not know on what ground this contemptible Muhammad Ali Khan or the English thus dare to declare themselves openly and parade titles and powers with which they are not invested.

I solicit you to prepare the minds on all these points. If I hear some other particular news, I shall immediately keep you informed of it. Besides, I shall see what steps I should take in my turn.

You have recently promised me a copy of this treaty in Persian which the English have made public. I remind you of it so that you

should send it to me. This matter and many others reveal the ambitious spirit and the genius full of dishonesty which the English possess, and that is of what I wish to convince the authorities in Europe, since I continuously repeat that it is on the impending precautions to be taken that our future situation depends.

I remain etc.

From the camp near Hyderabad, December 5, 1755.

Sir,

I always forgot to speak to you of the village of Partheal and of the fields of diamonds which depend on it. This village and the mines indeed form part of Mustafanagar. But it had never been the practice to include them in the farm of this Circar, and in the case of the Mughal Government, the farmer or the governor of this district did not have its administration unless he leased it privately. He was only charged with preventing the zamindar from working on the mines. The Darbar always reserved the right to lease this village and the mines for the sum of 5,000 pagodas, and the person who took this lease was free to work on them himself or lease the fields of diamonds. All that was above the size of a pagoda came to the shares of the sarkar and the rest to the farmer. Since we have the Four Circars no one has worked on them. Since the time for the renewal of the lease has come, I would like to know your intentions, and if you would like that we took this village on lease in the name of the Company which would be free to take the earnings or work on the fields of diamonds. You know, Sir, that it is from these mines that the finest diamonds in Asia have come out. But I shall point out to you that although work on them has stopped for nearly 20 years, the local people claim that this is actually used up. The Nawab had sent a person during the last summer to work on it, who spent 30 thousands rupees and drew only a few small stones valued at 800 pagodas. Since the

fields of diamonds of Partheal were abandoned, the Darbar is working on those of Paktour and Jatpol, situated between Kurnool and Hyderabad. I request you to let me know your intentions on this point.

If the Company had adopted the system of always maintaining troops with the Subhedar, whoever he was, and of having an itinerant factory in the Deccan, we could have continued very advantageously the trade which has been begun there, by maintaining an employee, i.e. a storekeeper, at Hyderabad, who would receive the goods earlier than they have been sent this year in order to be in a position to dispatch them to Aurangabad, Barhanpur, Poona, Satara, etc., so as to reach there exactly at a time when the largest consumption is made, especially for the woollens which are used in the whole of Asia for the troops, the sipahees and harnesses.

The sort of goods which were sent this year are quite good for a ready sale when they arrive early; the sugar can be sold at all times of the year; silk would also have a ready market. The other branches of trade in the Deccan are sufficiently known; that is why I do not speak to you of them. The English of Bombay are carrying on a very good trade in goods from Europe at Aurangabad.

The news that the Portuguese combined with the Angre have made an enterprise on Bassein is confirmed here and I have received a letter from Balajirao who writes to me that the English of Bombay are proposing help to him on condition that he should form an alliance with them for the affairs of Arcot. But this letter could indeed be a stratagem of Balajirao. I know the man. As everything develops, I shall communicate it to you. I have my eyes on the situation on the side of Hindustan, but there is nothing new since my last letter. The Emperor continues to be in a camp. Balajirao is in a great embarrassment and we are ready to march to the south.

The Waquil of Murarrao has just received the reply from his master on the question of the sums which are due to him. The matter is making a very good progress. But M. de Noronha, who, as I have pointed it out, has associated himself with this brigand of a Muzaffar Khan, and who claims to be the first of the French and a very close relative of M. Dupleix (whose reputation continues to be maintained in these parts), creates an impression in the whole region that

he can get anything done at Pondicherry, here, etc. As a result of that Murarrao has just written to his Waquil : "I have received your letter and seen its contents. I shall send you a final reply when I have a talk with Dilaver Jang (M. de Noronha) whom I have sent for by sending him a dromedary." M. Dilaver Jang. Bishop of Halicarnasse, what a collection of tilles, what do you say of it, Sir ? This circumstance will not bring about the failure, I hope, of the negotiation, but it might embarrass it because of the steps, perhaps selfish, and the inexperience of M. de Noronha of the usages of this country. It is necessary, in my opinion, Sir, that you should write to him and induce him to return to Pondicherry, and represent to him that the life which he is leading is not fit for a man of his profession. He will certainly be a little embarrassed in a short time caught between his friendship for Balajirao and Murorrao. The former has abandoned all his plans on the side of Hindustan, and proceeds to the south against his enemy. Janoji, a Maratha Chief, with whom I am intimately bound in friendship, writes to me that Balajirao's plan is to descend into Mysore and that he indeed intended to proceed further for his Chauthai of the Carnatic. We shall see what turn will all these even take when we ourselves are also proceeding to the south.

The news has just reached the Darbar that the killedar of Vellore had settled with Muhammad Ali Khan for three lakhs and fifty thousand rupees for what they call Darbar Kastche¹. It is also reported that the two zamindars Venguernaik, whom I saw formerly in this army, were on the point of setting as also Nellore, Seriapalli. This news, which must have also come to the knowledge of Balajirao, supposing that it true, might induce him to proceed to these parts and demand his Chauthai from the person who was collecting the revenues of the province.

I have just now received, Sir, your letter of the 19th of the last month. The interest which you indeed so kindly take in the recovery of my health flatters me much. I am penetrated with the deepest sentiments for all the kind things you have written to me on this point. I have completely recovered and quite ready to devote myself again to the general welfare during this campaign.

1. Kharch—expenditure.

Your reflexions on the intentions of the Emperor and of his Vazir are very wise and very just. You indeed understand that I shall not give a final reply without your participation or rather I shall not give other than that which you suggest to me.

I have never been inclined to prolong the war; on the contrary, in different places of my correspondence I have pleaded to prefer to it a peace perhaps less glorious to the French name but more advantageous to trade, and which permitted myself to come out of the disorder of affairs and the unpleasant life which I am leading to go and enjoy a tranquillity for which I am offering very ardent prayers. I established if this peace in the Deccan as soon as there was a chance to succeed in it; it still subsists, and I am very careful to remove all cause of rupture.

If the fruit of the alliance, still under consideration, contemplation could be the repayment of all the advances made during the war, certainly this proposal would be tempting enough, but so far there does not occur any semblance of it. Do me the favour of believing that I do not feed myself on smoke and that I feel that to involve the Company in fresh expenses is to ignore its real interests. I have perfect knowledge of the whole Mughal Empire, the form of its Government, the different interests of the powers which it shares, and I know sufficiently without fear of a mistake, how to seize and sift the truth from the glittering chimeras which cover it. That is why I shall never be engaged into empty projects which cannot bring any result. Moreover, Sir, I shall communicate to you my ideas on this subject, and you are more capable than anyone else of rectify them.

Whatever decision we may take, the alliance of the Court of Delhi would always be, according to me, honourable and advantageous for us. As for the present views of the Vazir, if he put them in a sufficiently clear light so that we could apply ourselves to them, this is how they could be advantageous for the nation;

Firstly, the confirmation of all that we possess on the Coast of Orissa and elsewhere, more ample and more detailed than that which the Emperor has given us by his letter.

Secondly, to see the disputes for the province of Arcot terminate by arrangements which would be taken at this Court to place this province again, as it was previously, under the orders of the Sub-hedar of the Deccan, albeit giving to the interested parties certain satisfactions which they could not refuse without declaring themselves openly as votaries of trouble and betraying their desire to dominate.

Thirdly, to require for such an expedition one years' advance salary for our army, and thereby the revenues of the Four Circars would enter the treasury of the Company, with the exception of the maintenance of a small detachment which we must leave with Salabat Jang. As for our absence from Machchalipatnam and our Four Circars, there is no disadvantage. The umbrage, which the Darbar of the Nawab might take, does not also constitute one. I enter into these details in writing which the affairs and my ill health had delayed.

The debts of the Deccan for the payment of which a part of the revenues of the Coast of Orissa was assigned, are wiped out with the exception of Rs. 1,33,245 which I hope to pay off, as I have said to you, from the revenues of the Four Circars, of which I keep very exact accounts. Thus, the revenues of the Company, in the Deccan, assigned by Messrs. Dupleix and Le Godeheu for the payment of its debts there, are far from being employed there entirely, since single the district of Condavir which would have paid all its expenses, of which we would have even taken only two thirds during a year and a half. You certainly know, Sir, how I obtained this district.

Before my departure from Pondicherry, the Company possessed only Machchalipatnam and Divy. Since then M. Dupleix charged me to endeavour to obtain in one way or the other (even on lease) the dependencies of Narsapur, Devracotta Nizampatnam, Goudour, Alkenenar, etc. all places which, as they adjoined our domains, furnish fresh resources for our trade. I obtained them as a pure gift, and I received for it thanks all the more flattering as M. Dupleix had very little expected that I would succeed in it. Later, it was thought that Condavir was a district the acquisition of which became very advantageous to the Company. At the same time as M. Dupleix wrote to me to sound the intentions

of Salabat Jang on this subject, he pointed out to me that he doubted that I would succeed in it. I then received from the Court of Delhi towards the end of the year 1752 the title of Hapthazari and Mahi Maratif. As it is the usage to assign to those, who are raised to this rank, a suitable jaghir, I profited by this circumstance to speak of Condavir. It was granted to me, but they wanted that it should be an apanage of my new titles in keeping with the usage of the Mughal Government, which was absolutely unaware of ours. I persistently refused the favour which the Nawab wanted to bestow on me, and it is the Company which is in possession of it. If the nation or the Company had not acquired on the Coast of Orissa enough to compensate what it lost on that of Caromandel and if our advantages in the north did not balance those which our antagonists have in the South, I ask how would the matter stand.

The Four Circars have sufficed this year (1755) for the maintenance of the army and consequently the Company can count on the entire revenues of its own domains, except for my advances to which they were, before you, as if deaf and blind. However, I never repented for what I had done. But I admit that the marked indifference that was shown to my representations rendered me more cautious and less anxious to lock up my own funds which you yourself consider, with this nobleness of sentiments which is peculiar to you, as the price of my labours.

I shall make one more observation to you on the subject of the articles which were sent to this army to be offered as presents. I have pointed out to you that since the first dispatch of 1751 till that which you send me today, I received nothing in this kind. It is quite true that in 1753, I received an invoice from M. Dupleix of different articles which he had meant for this army and of which you must have certainly had knowledge. But I inform you, Sir, that everything remained at Machchalipatnam and was consumed there with the exception of very little which M. de Moracin delivered to me at Vijaywada in 1754. As for munitions, etc., the benefit, which will consequently be obtained from the revenues of the Four Circars, will sufficiently compensate, I hope, the Company provided, however, that

without regretting what it has spent in the first years of possession, it will not destroy the edifice at the moment when it was going to enjoy the fruit of its expenses.

I can hardly thank you for the cares and attentions which you have kindly paid to the dispatch of the bill of exchange. I request you to send its duplicate to Europe in January. Those, which you kindly sent me, suffice me.

I expect that the agent of Nana Devi will furnish you the amount of the bill of exchange sufficiently in time also for the dispatch in January.

M. de la Selle, by hastening up to you, will pour in your bosom his pains and his anxieties. You will judge the solidity of his troublesome plans.

I do not lose sight of the waiver of Murarrao. You must have seen how the matters stand at the commencement of this year. This Maratha has advanced with his army as far as the banks of the Krishna, not as an enemy of the Nawab, although his troops are committing lot of ravage in the 'soubha of Vijapur', according to the custom of this nation. We shall proceed, I have told you, to the south, but the place is not yet decided. We await the last replies of Balajirao who is more and more embarrassed. It is even reported to me that he has some desire to have recourse to us, if, however, he does not come to terms with Murarrao, as there is a question of it since the arrival of Holkar who wishes to urge him to ask from the Mughals the Chauthai of Hyderabad and of the entire soubha of Vijapur. You see, Sir, what a labyrinth of politics and intrigue of which I assure you I would indeed like to be relieved. The news is also spread that the Portuguese and the Angre, united together, have seized Bassein. But I think that it is of very doubtful authenticity.

I hear that the Dalvay and his brother Nand Raj intend to forestall the Raja of Mysore and his mother in the plan the latter had formed to imprison them. The intention of the Dalvay, from what is reported to me, is to place the child, which was born when we were at Srirangapatan, (on the throne). On the other hand, Balajirao

has with him a certain who has some right on the throne of Mysore, in whose favour he threatens to oust the Raja if he does not pay him a sum as large as that which he gave to the Mughals last year. I think that the Dalvay will not pay much heed to this piece of boasting. The negotiations of this campaign will be, from what I think Sir, very delicate. I shall not fail to inform you of everything.

The Nawab has never been in a position to descend into the Carnatic (and I do not remember to have said otherwise); now he will still less think of it. For, in the present state of the affairs, he could appear there only to operate offensively against the English and Muhammad Ali Khan. He cannot do it alone, in concert with us, we cannot agree to it.

I so ardently desire to satisfy you even in the smallest things (and that, Sir, out of motives totally foreign to the post which you occupy and solely with respect to you as an individual that I am deeply affected when I notice the slightest discontent. You see, Sir, that I refer to the item of the titles and the sarpech of the Nawab.

I do not know if the Mughals or others of whom you speak to me, know well the usage of this country, of the titles and of their progression. It appears that they do not know it. The first of these titles is Khan, the second Jang, the third Daulah, the fourth Mulk and the fifth, introruced by Nadir Shah, Asaf Jah, with which only two men have been decorated. Nasir Jang, when he died, had just that of Nizam-el-daulah. Muzaffar Jang awaited that of Daulah from the Court. Salabat Jang had to wait for a long time to obtain that of Asaf-daulah. Monsieur Dupleix, before the arrival of M. Le Godeheu had requested me to solicit it for him. The error is thus to have considered as omission what was thought useless and superfluous, since the intention of the Nawab was to confirm to you by his letter the title of Daulah which you had assumed while writing to him. And those, who tell you that you could yourself take this title, are grossly mistaken. Those which one assumes himself are of no consideration, and when the Nawab received your first letter in which you had styled yourself Azmet Daulah¹, he asked me who had given you this

1. Azmat ud daulah.

title. I replied to him that. I thought that you had received it from the Court of Delhi directly through the Subhedar of Bengal of whom you were a great friend. In this case, said Shah Nawaz Khan, we cannot give him a more favourable one, and it would have been very wrong to give you that of Jang which is a lower one. Moreover, that of Rustum Jang was the one which Mr. Saunders had assumed or had it given to himself by I do not know much whom. The intention of Salabat Jang was also to confirm to you the titles of Hafthazari, Haft-hazarswar, and Mahi Maratib which M. Dupleix had. He accompanied his letter with a sarpech until he sends you its signet, which is sent slowly, because of the different persons through whose hands it ought to pass, with another sarpech. That which you have received is mediocre, I admit it, but it is the same as those sent to M. Dupleix. They consulted on this point the daftars or registers, and they sent it to you, such as it was mentioned therein. The sarpechs given or sent publicly by the Subhedar of the Deccan, are sent in the name of the Emperor of whom he is only the Naib. They are of little consequence and purely as an etiquette regulated by a fixed method which is preserved in writing. Such and such a person must have 3 pieces, another 5 and another 7; this is the highest. Yours was of 11, from what I think. Those which Salabat Jang has received on different occasions from the Emperor were not estimated at more than two hundred rupees. M. Dupleix wrote to me that he often decorated those which he received from Salabat Jang with jewels which belonged to him, for those who were not acquainted with this etiquette. This is, Sir, the truth. Salabat Jang will not to refuse anything to you, either with respect to the titles or the dignities, and I venture to assure you that those, who informed you, do not appear at all to be acquainted with facts.

I was going to terminate this letter when I was informed of what had just passed at the Darbar between Salabat Jang, Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan, Diwan of the Emperor, and some other supporters of Muhammad Ali Khan. The latter, under the pretext of a false zeal for the interests of the Nawab but really speaking to serve Muhammad Ali Khan, advised Salabat Jang to be allied and to correspond with the English, through whom, they said, he could derive some advantages

from the Carnatic since they were masters of Muhammad Ali Khan and of the region, and that it was the means palliate in the eyes of the Padshah his shame (of Salabat Jang himself) for his inability to preserve this province, etc. The Nawab objected that this proceeding will embroil him with the French. "What will be its consequence?" he asked. They replied to him; they will retire; in that case, you will recover the Four Circars which they cannot refuse to returning to you while quitting you. Muhammad Ali and the English would furnish you, as they have already proposed it, troops whose salary and maintenance would be paid from the revenues of the province of Arcot which has escaped you, and which you would allow belong to whom it could fall. For that purpose, you have only to deliver the paravana to Muhammad Ali Khan for which you would indeed obtain a suitable nazar. "But what about the Marathas?" asked Salabat Jang. "To restrain them", they replied to him, "you must only have firanguis" "Ah!" said the Nawab I cannot approve what you propose to me. What would they say at the Court of the Padshah and elsewhere. After what M. de Bussy has done for me? To betray him in this manner! Perhaps he would make war with me; he has many friends in the whole Deccan; and moreover, the English would deceive me as they have deceived Muhammad Ali Khan." The arrival of Shah Nawaz Khan put an end to this conversation.

This is, Sir, a matter for your reflections. However, to prevent sad ones, I cannot assure you that the Mughals are not, or will never be in a position to carry out any project of this kind, still less if we had once a footing at the Court of Delhi. The Subhedar of the Deccan, the Marathas, etc., would all treat us with consideration and would then be totally under our dependence. The former especially, and the officers of the Emperor who are stationed with him, would be afraid of being displaced. The Subhedar of Bengal would also be forced to treat us with consideration and respect which he never had, and we could have in this part everything that would be to our benefit, and protect ourselves once for all from all vexations. You would thereby bring to perfection this great work which has had, so to say, still only the form of skeleton. I shall tell you more about it in a few days.

I am coming out of a conversation with Shah Nawaz Khan in which I learnt about the intrigues of M. Noronha. This Mahomedan nobleman, himself surprised that here was a priest or a padri since he bore the title of Dilavar Jang (it is the reflection of Shah Nawaz Khan) showed me several of his letters in which after establishing that he has full power over the French and the Portuguese, he proposes to Shah Nawaz Khan to bring several thousands of Portuguese with whom he undertakes to destroy Balajirao and demands in advance a lakh and a half of rupees per month. These musings appear already to have been adopted by the fauzdar of Cuddapah and Murarrao, founded on the report of Muzaffar Khan who publishes that having served with the Portuguese, he knows the said M. Noronha as a nobleman of distinction, on the words and promises of whom one can and ought to rely. However chimerical may be these promises and these plans, as the Mughals and the Marathas do not make all the distinctions between the French, the English and the Portuguese, looking upon their soldiers as different individuals and persons, they allow themselves to be imposed upon by the braggings of this intriguing man, who has become dangerous by his connections with Muzaffar Khan, the most notorious plotter of his times. I inform you about it and request you to take in your turn, measures to call back this bishop to Pondicherry.

One of his relatives, who is in this army since last three years, has just received a letter by which M. Noronha points out to him that he is shortly to proceed to Goa and that he will not be long in returning, etc. All that is a sequence of his musings. But I hope that the Viceroy will not be taken in.

I would still have many things to tell you on the affairs of Delhi, but that will be for the next dispatch. This letter is already too long.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C^a 86, f. 223 v^o-228 v^o.

Pondicherry, January 5, 1756.

I am replying, Sir, to your letter of the 5th ultimo.

The farming of the village of Partheal and the diamond mines, which depend on it, do not appear to me to suit the Company. It would not be really more fortunate than the last farmer who drew from the mines only 800 pagodas in return for Rs. 30,000 which he spent according to what you write to me, and besides, it has no ground to be quite satisfied with the exploitation which it did at Guntur to attempt a fresh enterprise at Partheal. Therefore, Sir, you can leave this farm to anyone who would like to lease it. The precious stones which might compensate the expenses are almost always taken away by the labourers who neither lack the means nor the skill to elude the vigilance of those who are appointed to watch over them.

I approve very much the idea which you suggest to me to obtain for the Company an advantageous market for woolens and merchandise from Europe by keeping an employee at Hyderabad. But in order that it should materialise, the Company must adopt, as you say it, the system of continuously maintaining troops with the Subhedar of the Deccan. The time approaches when we could know its intentions.

The latest letters, which I received from Mahe dated the 10th ultimo, do not make any mention of the enterprise of the Portuguse on Bassein and of their union with Angre. There is much contradiction in all the news which comes from that quarter. I am very much inclined to believe that the advice, which Balajirao gives you of the proposals of the English, might indeed by only a stratagem on his part to thwart the arrangement which he fears you might make with Murarrao.

I am sorry that the negotiation, which you initiated with the Vakil of the later on the question of the sums which he claims are due to him, is disturbed by M. de Noronha. How I wish indeed I had not allowed him to leave this place! I have written to him to return. But I have every reason to think that he will do nothing of the kind,

and that he will not want reasons to defer his return, although he has only one, I mean to speak of the fear which he has of his creditors who began to press him when he left. The conduct he is adopting does not surprise me on his part. His plans will assuredly be disconcerted so far as Murarrao and Balajirao are concerned, supposing that the latter descends into these parts as you point out to me.

There is no more ground to doubt that the Killedar of Vellore has come to terms with Muhammad Ali Khan and the English. But I have not heard that he has given them such large sum as you write to me. The various contributions, which they have levied so far from the palegars in the vicinity of Arcot and Madras, are said to amount to six to seven lakhs. Whatever it may be, it is certain, that they are everyday gaining credit in this province of which they possess the major part, and I cannot oppose them so long as things remain in the state of uncertainty in which they are.

The uncertainty is one of the strongest reasons which prevents me from accepting the views of the Emperor and his Vazir, although I realise all the advantages which we might derive from it, to bring all our affairs to a satisfactory conclusion, for, after all, if, after entering into engagements with them, orders came from France which obliged us to retire, in what position would we not put ourselves? Besides, I do not agree with you on the question your absence from Machchalipatnam and the Four Circars of which your army constitutes the security. As the English have today a squadron which can be transported there any moment, it would not be prudent to abandon this part (Orissa Coast) whose possession alone can balance the advantages which the English have scored in these parts (the Coromandel Coast). I shall be delighted to see the details in which you will enter on this project in the letter which you have promised me.

You do not include in the debts of the Deccan what is due to you and to Moracin. The whole indeed amounts to Rs. 4,00,000. I expect that these could be paid at the end of this year.

I know, Sir, that with the exception of Machchalipatnam and Divy, which we have seized with swords in hand, it is to you that we are obliged for the districts which we possess there, and I admit the justness of your reflections on the advantages which result from them

today. I even think that these rich possessions, combined with the allowances of Salabat Jung, render our position superior to that of the English who may lose very easily what they possess in the Province of Arcot where we must hope that we shall always have forces to oppose to them, whatever fruit they may gather from it while preparing for war, and even if they remain superior, if Salabat Jang happened to fall in with the dispositions in which Balajirao appears to be, to come there and demand his Chouthai.

The expenses of your army exceed, as I have already observed to you, the revenues of the Four Circars, and I foresee that until the peace lasts, they will continue to consume those of the district of Condavir, with the result that so long as things will remain on this footing, it will not be from the increase of its finances that the Company will feel the advantage of all its possessions in the north.

I shall send by our first dispatch to Europe the duplicate of the bill of exchange with which I furnished you in the month of October for 25,000 golden pagodas from Machchalipatnam. I shall add to it a new one for the amount of hundred thousand rupees which I shall receive at the end of this month from Nanadevy for your account. I shall address this letter directly to M. de Montaran.

M. de la Selle will soon arrive here. Set your mind at rest on everything he could tell me.

You have not written to me about the design of Murarrao in advancing as the banks of the Krishna with his army. Will he go and face Balajirao? I do not think it is advisable to furnish succour to the latter who is already too powerful. In my opinion, it is good politics to always hold them in check in their relations with each other, and Salabat Jang ought to oppose the settlement which Holkar would like to make between them. The best thing would be to destroy them both, and it is an enterprise which, according to me, would not be difficult if we were not turned away from these parts by more pressing objects.

I have already communicated to you my ideas on the troubles which have been prevailing in Mysore. If the Court of Salabat Jang participates in them, it will suit our interests if we favoured the party of Nand Raj and if the latter is obliged to us for it. It is only on

him that we can rely in case of war to obtain succour which is absolutely necessary for us to support ourselves on the side of Tiruchchirappali. The other Dalvais and the Raja of Mysore have always opposed, as much as they could, the projects which he had formed on this place. If we were deprived of the succour which we expect from him, we must either abandon this part or carry there all our forces and leave the English tranquil possessors of the province of Arcot and of its revenues which would furnish them the means to support the war, whilst on our side we would only have those which we can find with you yourself, which circumstance would render the contest very unequal as you ought to realise it. It appears to me that the Dalvai has nothing to fear from Balajirao in the situation in which the latter is with respect to Murarrao, although we may not be certain about it, because the scene changes from moment to moment. As there is no State interest in this country and as everything is personal and momentary, we cannot rely on anything. That is why we are lost in a labyrinth of intrigues and projects, the majority of which, even those which appear best concerted, vanish in smoke.

The present situation of the French in the south may give rise to many projects if Balajirao and Salabat Jang proceed there, and as you observe, you will be occupied with very delicate negotiations. By that time, we shall receive news from Europe which everyone is impatiently awaiting, and I shall not fail to communicate it to you immediately, to enable you to take your decision according to the circumstances in which you will find yourself. Many persons think that we shall have a prolongation of truce, and I am very much inclined to believe it. Peace would be better and will enable you to go and enjoy this blissful tranquillity which you are aspiring after, and which I nonetheless wish. But peace so desirable appears to me very difficult to achieve. I am obliged to you for the detail in which you enter to pull me out of the error on the subject of titles and the sarpech which the Nawab has sent me. I was given to understand that there was among the Mughal deputies a necessary gradation and that the title of 'Jang' was above that of 'Daulah'. But I see, from what you point out to me, that I am mistaken, although I do think that among the Mughals the gradation of titles always takes place. But since it has been judged useless and superfluous for me, I shall henceforward

only take the title of 'Daulah' which the Nawab has conferred on me, and in my seal, shall remove that of 'Jang'. On my arrival here, I was told that M. Godeheu had taken the title of 'Nasir Jang', and that it was advisable that I should assume a similar title. I gave orders to follow the usage and consequently my seal was prepared without much attention on my part to the titles which I should have rightly assumed. You could not certainly better reply to the Nawab when he asked you who gave me the title of 'Asmetdaula' by telling him that I had received it through the Subhedar of Bengal, of whom I was a great friend. You knew the proof which he gave me of his friendship then, and I assure you that I would have carried on good business on that side if I had responded favourably.

Since the Nawab intends to confirm to me the titles of Haft hazari, Haft hazar swar and Mahi Maratib, I shall await some favourable circumstances to request you to send me the dispatch with another sarpech, which, following the example of M. Dupliex, I shall decorate, if it is necessary, with some jewels to impose upon the ignorant public.

I read, with all the attention it demanded, the interesting report which you give me on what passed between Salabat Jang, Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan, Divan of the Emperor, and some other adherants of Muhammad Ali Khan, who appears to have a powerful party at the Court of the Nawab, and I find that you need all the influence which you have on the mind of this sovereign in order to parry all the blows which he (Muhammad Ali) is always ready to deal to us. As the proposal of the Divan was so seducing, Shah Nawaz Khan appeared opportunely to terminate a conversation which could only create bad impressions. Could you not insinuate to the Nawab to show his resentment to those who are seeking to deceive him thus by talks which, under the cloak of some advantages, in fact, tend only to deliver him in the hands of his greatest enemies? Could he not complain against them at the Delhi Court, and remove them from his by getting them recalled? It appears that the noblemen at this Court are favourably disposed to him (to Muhammad Ali) as also to us, and I am convinced that the demands, which he could make there, would be listened to. Moreover, I submit these ideas to the

1. Azmat ud daullah.

knowledge which you have of the place and to the different reasons which you could have to placate both, although with contrary sentiments. You would have assuredly much less decorum to observe, if you were to set your foot at the Delhi Court. All the cabals would vanish by themselves, and you would soon see not only these officials but even all the subhedars of the Empire seek your friendship. If this project materialised, I would have, I assure you great pleasure in seeing the Subhedars of Bengal humiliated and their pride humbled.

The intrigues of M. de Noronha ought not to worry you. I am only surprised that Murarrao should have fallen in with his reveries. The Viceroy of Goa hasn't got a thousand Portuguese to give him to put his chimerical projects into execution. M. de Noronha has no other goal but to obtain money either from the Mughals or the Marathas, and I think that he will be little bothered subsequently to keep his promises, and he himself realises the impossibility. (to keep them). Since his debts have obliged him to leave Pondicherry, I shall have lot of trouble in inducing him to return. I have already told you that I have written to him. His connections with Muzaffar Khan, who ought to be known today in Hindustan, cannot fail to discredit him when the people do some reflection and abjure the ideas which he could at first suggest by his braggings and promises which he cannot keep.

M. de Maissin arrived here safe and delivered to me the letter which you had entrusted to him. Your commendation could not but pre-dispose me much in his favour. If he makes a demand to return to your camp, I shall be delighted to grant him the permission for it.

M. Dupassage awaits here the latest news about the decision, which Salabat Jang will take, in order to decide the route which he has to take to join your army. In the meantime, you can include him on the register, counting from the 1st instant.

I add that it is desirable and even important that you should urge Salabat Jang to appear in these parts. Everything invites him there ; the projects of Murarrao to be destroyed, the revolution in Mysore to be favoured and the advantage of being within reach to support me in case the impending news announces war between the English and us.

If you have exact maps of Hindustan and of all the parts in which our establishments are spread, I very earnestly request you to send me copies of them.

The English have not abandoned Arcot as I have previously written to you. They continue to have troops there, and although they have preserved their flag, Muhammad Ali has also hoisted his there.

I remain, etc.

C^a 86, f. 66v°-69v°.

From the Camp at Hyderabad, December 18, 1755.

Sir,

I inform you by this letter about the contents of the one from Balajirao, in which Asiatic guile and captious proposals appear in all their light. "I have always admired your honesty and your fidelity to keep your engagements. Your nation never abandons those to whom it is attached. Salabat Jang, whom you have been supporting for a long time, has always found in you a faithful ally and ready to undertake everything for his interests. You are aware of the alliance which we have contracted while making peace at Bhalki. I have kept the promise which I gave you for the observation of this peace. I believe that you will keep the reciprocal promise to supply troops when you or I would demand them. I need 100 Europeans with a chief who will command them, accompanied by 500 sipahees. I await your reply."

My reply is in the same style. Here is its purport.

"I read your letter and all its contents. You are right in saying that our fidelity is constant, that the word of the French is an inviolable oath and that our allies had never had occasion to repent for being attached to us. You ask of me 100 Europeans and 500 sipahees. It is too small a number for your great plans. You must have at least 700 to 800 Europeans and 2,000 sipahees. Our reputation is too precious to expose ourselves to lose it or see it fade. It is not at all

our usage to employ on an enterprise so few soldiers who are not sufficient to assure its success. Neither you nor I will commit ourselves to go against our usages."

This reply is in keeping with the genius of the country and the circumstances. The number of troops, which I propose to him, will not suit him; he will not accept it, because he does not want the French to be in a position to dictate law to him in his camp. Even if he pretended to accept it, I can still plead that I must have your approval, that it will require time to collect the troops, and by slow degrees the campaign will advance to its end.

He writes another letter to Shah Nawaz Khan, of which he does foresee that I shall have communication, and it is his intention as it appears. Here it is:

"After finishing the ceremonies of the marriage of my brother, I intend to send him with Holkar to Hindustan where I am planning to send a corps of troops. Raghoba, my other brother, will go to the Carnatic with his army in order to collect the Chauthai."

Shah Nawaz Khan, after conferring with me replied to him in the following words in connection with the Carnatic.

"You know that the Carnatic is in the hands of the English or of Muhammad Ali; they possess the largest part of it, and the French possess the rest which is less considerable. By proceeding to this province you will make an alliance with one to declare yourself enemy of the other. The English and the French have made an accord for 18 months. If you are an enemy of the English, M. de Bussy, to whom I have spoken about it, declared to me that he could not give you succour against them and that he would not even give it to Salabat Jang because of the accord made between them. M. de Bussy adds that if you went into the Carnatic as an enemy of the French, by allying yourself with your friends of Bombay, he would request you to let him know about it, because he would then meet you with all his forces."

This reply is also in keeping with the present circumstances. I can indeed dissuade him from his design.

This is so far as what concerns the Deccan. I pass on to the negotiations of Hindustan.

The daroga of the harakaras, charged with presenting my letter to the Vazir, delivered it to him with a gold enamelled box. The Vazir admired the workmanship, praised the French much and fixed the next day to present my letter to the Emperor along with a watch. On arriving at the Darbar with the daroga who carried the letter and the present, he took them and placed them before the Emperor. The monarch expatiated much on the valour the fidelity and the merit of the French.

An order was given to send me a sarpech and an elephant ; it was executed. It is on the way ; it is the one of which I have given you advice.

This order was followed by a long conversation between the Emperor and the Vazir on the means to fetch us at the Court. I had sought three lakhs per month as salary and expenses of the army, guaranteed by the Sahukars, with six months' advance for preparations for the journey. All that was proposed, and I am informed that I shall shortly receive the Sarpech. The deliberation next turned on the dispatch, either of a single firman giving order for departure or of two of which the other would be addressed to Salabat Jang to see that we start.

If, against my expectation, these proposals were accepted, what must I do, Sir ? I await your orders and your reflections. But supposing that it can materialize, we have time to receive news from Europe and prepare ourselves, since it would be only next year that such an expedition could take place. During this time, we can take all the suitable measures.

If, as you have pointed out to me, you have the intention to accept this proposal if you perceived some real advantage in it, kindly let me know immediately your intentions so that your reply serves as a basis to that which I must give to the Emperor and his Vazir.

The troops, being raised by the fauzdar of Cuddapah of which you have spoken to me in your last letter, consist only in four to five thousand cavalry ; it is solely to administer his territory and try to

settle his affairs better with the Darbar. Murarrao's affair is a little delicate. If I have the good luck to succeed, I shall supply you the detail of this whole intrigue, and you will judge its difficulties. I would be very happy if this last mark of my zeal could convince the Company of my attachment for its interests and in addition deserve your esteem.

The Rajputs are offering Rs. 1,50,000 per day to the Emperor, independently of their troops, to march to the Deccan, humble the Maratha power and expel it entirely beyond the Narmada. The Emperor demands Rs. 2,00,000 per day. This is how the matters stand in these parts.

I have just received a letter from M. Boucard who writes to me that my letters had produced some effect and that the two governors of Surat had begun to make remissions to him, that he had received Rs. 75,000 since a fortnight, that Rs. 37,000 still remain to be paid, for the return of which he requests me to employ my services. I shall comply with this request with pleasure.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 86, f. 69v^o-71v^o.

From the French camp in the army of Slabat Jang,
January 1, 1756.

Sir,

From the beginning of this campaign which is the sixth, I have the honour to inform you that my correspondence can neither be very frequent nor lengthy, unless affairs of the greatest importance force me, in spite of the fatigues of the daily marches, to write. It is not that I defer to inform you of everything which deserves our attention. As the projects and the intrigues which interest us will develop and assume a fixed state, I shall profit by the halts to inform you of them.

Everything is tranquil at home ; time will reveal what is hidden in the hearts, which most skilful dissimulation renders impenetrable.

Some days back there took place a scene which almost forced us to have recourse to arms. It is the work of the faction of Muhammad Ali Khan and his partisans, ; everything dissipated and so much to our advantage that the disgrace fell completely on the promoters of the intrigue. I was sought and solicited by the very persons who wanted to lower my authority and my credit. They considered themselves too happy to kiss their fetters and submit.

We are marching in the direction of Beder ; this place offers three roads, one goes to Satara, the other to Barhanpur and Narmada and the third to Berar. It is the uncertainty of the road we shall take, which will induce Balajirao to settle some dissension in connection with the arrangement of the Subha of Berar and desist from his claims on the son of Raghuji who continues to follow his camp. Once this affair is settled, we shall proceed to the south where we have many affairs to terminate.

Murarrao has assembled about 15 thousand cavalry and six to seven thousand sipahees, good or bad, well or badly armed. Muzaffar Khan has joined him, and the intention of this Maratha is to march against Balajirao. Moreover, nothing is decided, either on the side of Murarrao or that of Balajirao, and that of the Mughals. The latest news, that has come from Delhi, announces that the Emperor has said in full Darbar that the French alone today can preserve the Deccan for him, that without them this part of his Empire would have slipped from his hands, because the Marathas were too powerful there.

Please Sir, receive at the commencement of this New Year the most fervent and the most sincere wishes for all that can give you pleasure. As for me, I shall be at the height of mine if you would continue to me your kindness and affection.

I remain, etc.

Translation of a letter from the Emperor Alamgir the Second to Monsieur de Bussy. Received on July 12, 1755.

God is victorious.

To the Captain M. de Bussy, Bahaddur, Humdet-el-Moulouk, Sefet¹ Daulah, Gazamfar Jang, very worthy subject of the great King of France, my brother whose valour is known to me and who is very worthy of my favour, etc.

You are aware of the revolution which raised me to the throne of the Mughals and paced Ahmed Shah under the fetters. God, who raises and overthrows the sovereigns, has cast his favours on me, and by his grace, I sat on the throne of the Mughals. Since a year your name has been often pronounced and your deeds have been brought to my ears. Moreover, my very beloved son Asfet Daulah² Bahaddur Salabat Jang, through several letters full of all your deeds, informs me of what you have done and what you are still doing every year for the glory of my Empire and the maintenance of his authority, to which I give my approval as also all the praises which such services deserve. To go on deserving my Royal favour more and more, I recommend to you to maintain your friendship for my beloved son. Let your heart continue to be really attached to him, and if he happens to call on me also to receive the marks of my satisfaction and the reward of all your services.

Given on the first of Shaban³, eleven hundred sixty-eighth year of Hejira, and the first of my reign.

We the undersigned certify the present translation true to the original Hyderabad, July 15, 1755.

Signed: Montagnier de la Roque and de Monjustin, Jesuit.
True copy.

Duval De Leyrit.

¹Almdal Mulk Saif-ud-daulah.

²Asaf uddaulah.

³Shaban.

C² 86, f. 228v^o-231

Pondicherry, January 25, 1756.

I received, Sir, your letter dated the 18th ultimo.

I can indeed approve the reply you have given to that which Balajirao has written to you to demand from you a succour of hundred European soldiers and five hundred sipahees. There is no likelihood that he will accept your proposals. Similarly, there is nothing better and more consistent with the present conjunctures than the reply which Shah Nawaz Khan has given him in his turn after conferring with you. I heard a report from Surat that he was expected in this part. But it is always proper that you should endeavour to dissuade him from his designs on the province of Arcot, although the English or Muhammad Ali are more concerned in it, as their possessions in this part are much more considerable than ours.

If I have reason to feel delighted at the fact that your letters and presents to the Emperor and to the Vazir have had a good reception, it is also with great surprise that I notice the proposals which have been made to them on your part without my advice or my consent. You had appeared to approve my reasons and the decision which I had taken not to enter into any engagement with this Court without being authorised for it by the Minister or the Company. I even pointed out to you that I had consequently written to the Controller-General whom I had informed specially of this negotiation. Today you wish that I should give you orders on the demand which you have proposed for three lakhs per month for the subsistence of your army with six months' advance for the preparations for the journey. After writing to the Controller-General that I shall await his or those of the Company, am I not in a position to disown this demand, and can I dispense with reminding you yourself of what you write to me in your letter of December 5. Here is the item: "Your reflections on the views of the Emperor and his Vazir are very wise and very just. You sufficiently understand that I shall not give a final reply without your participation, or rather I shall not, not give other than that which you will suggest to me."

You are also not unaware, Sir, that the treaties concluded between Messrs. Godeheu and Saunders are opposed to all engagements of this nature which I could enter into. I communicated them to you not only for your satisfaction, but also in order that they should serve you as a rule in the conduct which you have to adopt. If these treaties had taken place, what mortification would it not be for us to be obliged to break *vis-a-vis* this vast Empire the words which we would have given. It appears that you do not expect that your proposals will be accepted. As for myself, I am very much inclined to believe that they will be so, and in this case, how would you extricate yourself from the step which you have taken? Time alone can furnish the means and that is on what I am counting between now and the next year as I do not foresee, supposing that this expedition materialises that it could take place earlier.

Nevertheless, I continue to insist on the necessity to maintain the Emperor in the hope that we shall join him. For the present, you should not have any other aim in this negotiation, and that is at what terminate all my reflections.

The demand, which the Emperor makes of the jats for Rs. 3,00,000 per day instead of Rs. 1,50,000 which they offer him to march against the Marathas, finally convinces me that it will cost him little to grant you Rs. 3,00,000 per month which you demand.

M. le Verrier writes to me on the question of the affair of M. Boucard that the governor had abandoned Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 12,000 from Rs. 37,000 which he had retained. But M. Boucard does not write anything to me about it.

You will receive a letter from the Company which appears satisfied with your services and which recognises all their importance. It is, however, sorry that the paravana of the Four Circars, which have been granted to you by the Subhedar of the Deccan for the salary of your army, has been drawn in your name, but convinced as much as it is of the honesty of your intentions, I do not doubt that it was easy for M. Dupleix to tranquillise it and entirely satisfy it on this matter on which I have already offered an explanation in one of the letters which I have recently written to it.

I was about to terminate this one when I received yours of the 1st instant. Actually as you are in the field, I do think that the troubles of the journey and the fatigues will not permit you any longer to expatiate much in your letters. Nevertheless I expect that you will give me news about you as often as it will be possible for you to do so. The different situations in which you will be in the course of this campaign ought to make it interesting, especially if, as you point it out to me, Salabat Jang appears in these parts, and it is important for the benefit of our affairs that I am kept informed exactly.

It would have been desirable if you had entered with me in the detail of the scene to which the faction of Muhammad Ali Khan gives an occasion, whatever may be the intrigue of which you speak to me. I am always very much delighted whenever it has turned to the shame of those who have been its perpetrators and whenever you have forced them to seek you even when they were endeavouring to lower your credit and your authority.

I wish that you could oblige Balajirao to desist from his claims on the succession of Raghuji and that you succeeded in bringing Murarrao to reason. I think that it is against this power that you will chiefly have to deal with.

The praise which the Emperor has showered in his Darbar on the services which the French have rendered him in the Deccan, cannot but fall on you, Sir, I was delighted to read this item of your letter as also the translation of the firman which has been addressed to you by this Emperor.

I forgot to communicate to you in my last letter that the officers of this garrison came to make representations to me on the fact that you have appointed M. Marchand as an ensign, he who has served, as they say, in the capacity of a servant. This Marchand is a brave person and I am not opposed to the good turn you could do to him. But it appears to me that it is not advisable that he should be on par with the other officers. I request you to pay regard to the representations of these gentlemen.

Receive my thanks for the obliging compliment which you were kind enough to pay me on the occasion of the New Year. Similarly,

I wish you a good and happy one. I wish you could celebrate it by fresh successes and see all your desires fulfilled.

There is a persistent report at Arcot about laying siege to Vellore. I still do not know positively how the matter stands.

I remain, etc.

True Copy.

Duval De Leyrit.

B.N., N.A.F., 9158, f. 243-246v°.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang.
December 31, 1755.

To M. De Moras,

Sir,

It would be very flattering for me if the account, which I have given you by the ships which left in October about by expedition of the Deccan, had deserved your approval. It is today what engages my desires. The successes of my administration have surpassed, it is true, my expectations. But what are they in comparison to the benevolence of those to whom the interests of the State are entrusted? If, to obtain yours, one had only to deserve it, I would think that I have a legitimate right to it. But there is indeed another way to obtain it. It is to fulfil, in my operations, the intentions of the Court and comply with the views of the Company for the benefit of place and the advantage of trade. This is my principle which, I hope, will open up the path for this esteem to which I aspire so much.

Since the departure of the ships in the month of October, nothing has taken place in this part (in spite of the continuous intrigues which are customary) which could disturb the peace which I have

established in the Deccan, as soon as there was an opportunity to succeed in it. It still subsists, and any care is to avoid any rupture of it. And very far from being ever inclined to prolong war, I have solicited in various passages of my correspondence to prefer to it a peace perhaps less glorious to the French name but more advantageous for trade, and which permits me to come out of the labyrinth of affairs and unpleasant life which I lead to enjoy a tranquillity for which I have been offering very ardent prayers.

The wisdom and firmness of M. De Leyrit, complying with the views of and intentions of the Minister and of the Company, have put a check on the enterprising audacity of our rivals in the Carnatic. They took a little advantage of the rather disproportioned difference, in the knowledge of the local conditions between the two respective Commissioners, charged with laying the foundation of peace. That of France, although very capable of fulfilling his mission, but a stranger to all the present affairs, had a very strong opponent in that of England, fully acquainted with the situation. This disadvantage is repaired since the final decision is to be taken in France.

I take the field for the sixth time with the Subhedar of the Deccan. It is the form of the Government. I am preparing the means to the best of my ability to induce this sovereign and his Court to accept the arrangements which we shall receive from Europe. M. De Leyrit urged me by all sorts of kind ways to remain charged with the affairs of this part for some longer time. You can judge it, Sir, from the extract of his letters to M. de Moracin : "I agree with you, Sir, that it would not be possible to replace M. de Bussy, but I hope that he will not put me in this embarrassment. He ought, if he thinks rightly, to remain with Salabat Jang till the settlement of all the affairs. If he has reason to expect that his services should be recognised by the Minister and the Company, it will only be by fulfilling his mission that he can expect some satisfaction from that side. I have no doubt that he will make on this point all the reflections befitting the political situation in which he is today. The conduct which he will adopt will influence much on the success of the arrangements which have been taken for the maintenance of the tranquillity in this region until the orders which are expected from Europe can put an end to everything."

I am convinced, Sir, that M. De Leyrit will bear to the Company a testimony which will finally determining it in my favour. It prejudice has rendered suspect that of M. Dupleix for sometime, those of Messrs. Le Godeheu and de Leyrit (I have sent you in October, some extracts of his letters) will not be so, I hope.

I am impatient, Sir, to know what decision the Minister and the Company must have taken on the affairs of India, but if they have followed the earlier project of pacification, I predict the ruin of the Company and complete dishonour of the nation, of which eventuality, I shall be delighted not to be a witness. However, if reasons of State, which I cannot fathom, led the Company to abandon everything, I shall blindly submit to all its decrees. I have sent you, by the ships of October the copies of the latest letters which I had received from the Emperor and his Vazir. They do wish that we should join them to accomplish the work of humbling of Marathas whom they have expelled from Hindustan and forced to recross the river Narmada which serves as a boundary to the Deccan. I have presented to M. De Leyrit the advantages and disadvantages of the course which the Court of Delhi proposes to us, and as no one feeds himself less on chimeras than I, as the said alone touches me, when it is a question of general weal and as I have a perfect knowledge of the Mughal Empire, of the form of its Government, of the different interests of the powers which share it, I can, without fear of being mistaken, seize and unravel the truth from the dazzling chimeras, which envelop it; and shall never stumble into vain projects which cannot yield any fruit. Allow me to offer reflections which appear to me founded on this principle.

Whatever revolutions may take place, the alliance with the Court of Delhi would always be honourable and advantageous to us, provided, however, that the Company, without regretting what it has spent during the first years of possession, supports the edifice which is about to procure for it the fruit of its expenses. It is known sufficiently well that even in the most civilised countries, it is hardly possible to enjoy entirely during the first years the revenues of a fresh acquisition. I relise, Sir, that to engage the Company in fresh expenses would be to neglect its real interests, but if the fruit

of the alliance still in project, could be, first of all, the payment of a part of the advances made during the war, nothing assuredly would be more advantageous. We can also hope from it the confirmation of all that we possess on the Orissa Coast and elsewhere, more ample and more detailed than that which the Emperor has given us by his letter.

Thirdly, we can finish the disputes for the province of Arcot by arrangements which would be taken at this Court to put back this Province, as it was before, under the orders of the Subhedar of the Deccan, observing to give to the interested parties certain concessions which they could not refuse without declaring themselves openly as perpetrators of the troubles and betraying the desire to dominate.

Fourthly, we can require for such an expedition a year's advance salary for our army, and thereby the revenues of the Four Sircars would enter into the treasury of the Company with the exception of the maintenance of a small detachment which we must leave with Salabat Jang. As for our absence from Machchalipatnam and our Four Sircars, it has no ill consequence. I enter into a greater detail in the letter which I have sent to Pondichery.

We must also agree that if we had once a footing at the Court of Delhi, the Subhedar of the Deccan, the Marathas, etc., all would placate us and would then be totally in our dependence. Especially, the former and the officers of the Emperor who are stationed with him would be afraid of being displaced.

The Subhedar of Bengal would also be forced to have for us considerations and all attentions which he never had. We might have in this part all that would suit us and would protect us once for all against the vexations. The correspondence alone which I have today with the Court of Delhi renders all my operations much easier, holds all the powers in check and places me in a very high consideration.

I hope, Sir, to crown the successes of my negotiations and render an important service to the Company by inducing Murarrao to desist from a sum of 14 lakhs of rupees which the Company owes

him and for which he had already given some threats to Pondicherry, which fact urged M. de Leyrit to write to me about it. This affair involves many difficulties. It is a question of inducing the Darbar of Salabat Jang to grant to Murarrao demands which he proposes through his Vakils, to whom he has forbidden to make any arrangement with me which might deprive him of the sums which the French owe him. On the other hand, Balajirao threatens to break the peace with the Darbar if it shows favour to Murarrao, his enemy, and the Darbar of the Nawab is quite reluctant to give anything to Murarrao. If I have the good luck to reconcile all the different interests, I shall send to M. de Leyrit the formal document by which Murarrao renounces and declares that the French do not owe him anything. I wish, Sir, that this mark of my zeal, which will not be the last, might convince the Company of my attachment for its interests, and deserve by that the benevolence of the Minister and yours.

M. Dupleix has written to me from the Cape of Good Hope and informs me that M. de Sechelles is his relative. I am delighted at it all the more as he will be in a position to set off my service with this Minister. No one better than our ex-Governor can do this recital. I hope, Sir, that you will be kind enough to play your part in it. If you join your commendation to it, there is no doubt that the Company will render me more justice than in the past.

I also point out to this new Minister that I would be delighted to take rest from my painful labours. I ask him a favour, which I think is very legitimate ; it is to grant me my return. Please, Sir, do me the favour of supporting me on this occasion.

I remain with a respectful attachment,

Sir,

Your very humble and
very obedient servant,

De Bussy.

B. N., N. A. F., 9158 f. 333-334.

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang.

December 31, 1755.

Mme La Marquise Dupleix,

Madam,

By my last letter of the month of September, I had the honour to assure you of my entire devotion. Allow me, Madam, to renew to you the same sentiments by this one. As they emanate from a heart which is really attached to you, I am convinced that they will find with you all that one can expect of a perfect return. You know the rights which you have given me to it. You also know how to estimate things at their just value. I do not need any other guarantee for the continuation of the esteem which you have always shown me, and especially in the letters which you have kindly addressed to me from the Isles and from the Cape of Good Hope. This fresh mark of benevolence has extremely flattered me. All that comes to us from our friends is dear to us, and you know what you are to me in this respect. You can, therefore, imagine, Madam, how your letters must be precious to me. You cannot imagine, my ardour to receive them from Europe. Let them communicate to me news ! and especially the interesting news on the affairs of my dear patron and tender friend. How this time is long and how it costs my affection to bear all these anxieties !

I am certain that the arrival of the first ships will announce to me all that one can wish in favour of M. Dupleix. But nothing can give me a greater pleasure than to learn if he settles down in Europe or he returns to his former government (where he is desired by the Europeans as well as by the Asiatics). If he has decided for the first of the two courses, I shall not hesitate to go and give him all the proofs of this sincere affection which I have sworn to him for my life. My prayers for your health, Madam, and that of Miss Chonchon, are as sincere as they are ardent. You are actually occupied in admiring all that our

capital can offer as beautiful to your curiosity and I am always occupied with the intrigues of the cabinet and military preparations. What a difference from the life you lead to mine. I venture to imagine, Madam, that you share my fate and that you sometimes remember the poor exile in the Deccan. Our pains become light when we know that our friends share them. When will, therefore, end my proscription? You know Madam, the motives which have urged me to remain in the Deccan. It is to support the work which M. Dupleix has begun and which he has left to my cares. I have, therefore, satisfaction to see the affairs become more brilliant and more advantageous from day to day. I give him ample details on this subject. Please remember, Madam, the promise you have given me at the time of the departure (and the deposit which I have so to say entrusted to you). I hope, that you will give me a good account of both. I shall soon enjoy the happiness of assuring you by word of mouth of the profound respect with which I remain.

Madam,

Your very humble and very
obedient servant,

De Bussy.

B. N., N. A. F., 9158, f. 335-344.

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
December 31, 1755.

M. Le Marquis Dupleix,

Sir,

Since the account which I gave you by the ships which left in October, the scene in India, quite shifting as it is, has not changed. What has taken place at Madras deserves your attention and must be reported to you in the most circumstantial detail.

The English, after obliging Muhammad Ali Khan to agree to all the arrangements which their ambition has formed, recognised and proclaimed him as Subhedar, or as they say in Europe, Nawab of

Arcot. The Governor with his Council, the military and even the ladies, paid him the 'nazar'. All that is known of the conventions drawn and concluded between them and their Nawab is that they have adjudicated to themselves all the fine territory enclosed between Pondamelly, Chingleput and Campevaram inclusively.

A little after the comic scene of which I have just spoken, the so-called Nawab left Madras, accompanied by about 400 Englishmen and a few hundred wretched cavalry who are dying of hunger, to go to Arcot and gradually the whole region will get accustomed to consider him as such. His plan or rather that of his supporters is to forcibly obtain tributes from the zamindars, the pategars or Killedars, especially that of Vellore, whose fortress they would like to seize, which even would cause an infinite harm (to our cause). M. De Leyrit is planning not to tolerate it and rather break the truce. He governs with all the possible prudence and firmness. But he has his hands tied in many things. He has adopted your system in all the matters, has recognised it as sound and renders you the justice which you deserve. I am completely satisfied with his correspondence. He writes to the Minister and to the Company on the affairs of the Deccan, as a man who has seized the vital threads of the affairs. The letters which I receive very often from the Vazir, have been sent to the Minister, and M. de Leyrit writes on this matters as I can wish it. But I revert to Muhammad Ali Khan, whom Salabat Jang has forbidden from levying any tribute, not having any right to do so. He has issued a circular letter to all the zamindars forbidding them from giving any money to Muhammad Ali Khan and him from demanding it. This interdiction will not be a proof against force which will be used to forcibly obtain the tribute as I have said. However, M. de Leyrit, who has completely assimilated the system of the affairs of India and whose firmness is very much obstructed by the treaties made with the English, is quite resolved not to allow the Killedar of Vellore to be attacked. Far from being a quiet spectator, his plan is to take the field in favour of the ally of the French in case the supporters of Muhammad Ali Khan refuse to observe this condition of the truce which includes in it the respective allies, so that the war is on the point of being kindled in the province of Arcot. I have

procured funds for M. De Leyrit for his military operations on the advice which he gave me that the scarcity of money made it impossible for him to act offensively. I borrowed on my account some lakhs, without interest, which I sent him. This is the perspective of the affairs of the Arcot. That of the Orissa Coast is the same as I have presented it to you in my letters of the month of September. The Deccan is in the same state. I take the field with Salabat Jang, not to support a war; the Marathas, as I have pointed it out to you, are not thinking of breaking peace. On the contrary, Balajirao is courting me and is very embarrassed this year. All his 'amals'¹ have been expelled by the Rajputs from the provinces which he possessed beyond the Narmada and his Vakils slaughtered. Holkar and Raghoba have returned from Hindustan but did not leave it by the regular door. The Emperor has taken the field and proposes to humble the Marathas whom he has already expelled from Hindustan and forced to recross the Narmada. He has advanced as far as Agra and all the Rajputs join him. The son of Mansur Ali Khan, Subhedar of Pouroupe joins him with 25,000 cavalry; the other subhedars are doing likewise.

All our operations, as well as those of the preceding campaign, will end in raising the tributes and augmenting, if it is possible, the Khazina of the Nawab.

Murarrao, who took advantage of the changes which took place in our government, to assume a threatening tone, insolently demands 12 lakhs which he claims are due to him by the French. This campaign will be, I hope, advantageous for us, for, I still propose to derive some benefit from the Raja of Mysore by sacrificing to his vengeance the zamindar of Ballapur who cannot avoid, with the time, being the victim of an angry power which is superior to him in everything.

The negotiations with the Court of Delhi will be maintained. However, they will advance at a slow pace until we receive from Europe some decisions which authorise and guarantee this step, the consequences of which cannot be immaterial to the nation, either from the point of view of reputation or interests of trade.

¹Military posts.

Since my last letters I have been exactly informed about what concerns the bishop of Holy carnasse. I still knew him but imperfectly when the first ships left.

Bored by the Sojourn at Pondicherry he solicited from M. De Leyrit the permission to come and negotiate with Salabat jang and Balajirao affairs with which, he said, he was charged by the Court of Portugal. His plan was first of all to join the army of the Nawab during its return from Mysore. Not having succeeded in it, he stopped at Shira from where he wrote to me to know if he could come to Hyderabad to begin his negotiations. I replied to him without any delay that it was not proper for him to come, that Balajirao and Salabat Jang were so jealous reciprocally of their advantages that it was hardly possible to treat with the one without thereby rendering oneself suspicious to the other, that, moreover, as he came from Pondicherry, it was not possible to make so much distinction between the Portuguese and the French, and that his overtures would give rise to suspicious. All the same time I exhorted him to return to Pondicherry. Messrs. Law and Dubansset wrote to him in the same strain, but probably his creditors are the cause why he has not returned there. He remained with Muzaffar Khan, who, as I think I have informed you, after quitting Balajirao, came to Savnur-Bankapur where he is practicing the profession of a plunderer. To persuade Monsieur de Noronha to quit him and return to Pondicherry I promised to increase his income by a few thousand rupees and put him in a position to face his creditors.

I have informed you above that M. De Leyrit honoured me with a full confidence. He speaks publicly about me and my mission in a most advantageous manner. He does not approve the operations which preceded his arrival, although he speaks of them in public with much caution. Father Lavour has great share in his confidence and I think that he is the only one. The affairs of India, which this Reverend Father knows and assesses, will be known and assessed by M. De Leyrit through overtures which he will make to Father Lavour who, as a clever man, will profit by them for the benefit of the affairs. My correspondence with this Reverend Father is indeed frequent. I value his friendship too much not to cultivate it with all the possible care.

The Nawab and the Darbar, more than annoyed not to obtain anything from the province of Arcot, without troubling themselves about the provisional arrangements which have been made, would be very prone to give the paravanas of this province to him whom our antagonists support. This point is ticklish; it is difficult to induce this Darbar, greedy of money, to agree to sacrifice for two years more the revenues of this province in favour of our politics of Europe about which they do not bother. They are ceaselessly asking me to whom they should address themselves to obtain the revenues of this province. This affair is the only delicate one at present which I have to treat with the Darbar.

The Portuguese have raised forces and joined the Angre in order to recover Bassein and Balajirao has sent a large body of troops to this coast. There is a report that this Maratha would like to ally himself with the English of Bombay to destroy the Angre and that the English are willing. But their plan is not to destroy him completely apparently because the trade of this coast, which they alone are carrying on, might become free to all the European nations be the destruction of the pirates.

Balajirao writes to me that the English of Bombay have proposed to him to ally themselves with him against all his enemies, if he would protect Muhammad Ali Khan and the English on the Coromandel Coast.

The work of peace becomes more difficult day by day. The Darbar would like to see the affairs of Arcot settled. However, it cannot help saying that the English are not a people who would keep their word and who pretended to protect Muhammad Ali Khan to achieve their goal.

My good luck follows me in the administration of the Four Circars. Not only have the revenues of this year sufficed to the maintenance of my army, the expenses of which I reduce as much as I can, but I have even paid a part of the debts contracted in the year of your departure and which had been assigned on the province of Condavir. My advances alone remain to be paid, and with the exception of this item, the Company will enjoy this year the entire revenues of its old domains, and subsequently, it will derive the benefit from the

Four Districts under mortgage, provided, however, that, without regretting its expenditure during the first years of possession, it supports the edifice which is about to procure for it the fruit of its expenses. Then it will realise the advantage of the situation in the north. But is not all that already destroyed by the arrangements which must have been made actually? I have promised you to remain at the helm of the affairs of the Deccan until I receive news from you. I have kept my word, and the affairs become more brilliant and more interesting from day to day. It is surprising that I have not received any news from the Marquis of Conflans. M. De Montaran writes to me about his arrival in Europe. Have you met him there? The letter (M. De Montaran) appears to be completely on your side. He has charged himself with my affairs with the best grace in the world, and as I bore the repercussion of the ill-will of your enemies, the esteem, which M. de Montaran has for you, has also rebounded on me. According to all the news that we receive, they (the authorities in France) are rendering to you in France all the justice which you deserve. In this case, I have nothing more to desire than to learn that you are enjoying good health and know the decision you have taken so that I should take mine, for, nothing will stop me if you settle down in France.

My successes, which go on augmenting, have turned almost all the French men in India into as many vile jealous persons. I repeat that vile jealousy has reached its utmost pitch, and I only needed a conduct as irreproachable as mine, to support myself. Therefore, come back as early as possible, Sir, to bring your work to perfection and put a stop to my pains, or tell me that you will remain in France, and I give you my word that I shall very quickly get out of this slavery and that I shall abandon the edifice which I support only because it is your work and because it can (if its advantages are once known) contribute to the welfare of the nation.

I recommend to you my interests of all kinds. I have written to you that I have sent to my brother and to Marion the duplicate of the account which you sent to me before your departure.

I must not omit to inform you of the incident that took place at Delhi on the occasion of the presentation of a watch and an enamelled

snuff-box which I sent to the Vazir ; the watch studded with diamonds, destined for Salabat Jang was sent a present to the Emperor.

The Vazir, to whom Raja Kishrao, daroga of the harakaras, presented the whole on my behalf, expatiated much on the praises of the nation and mine, after admiring these small presents of which he set off the price and the beauty. He fixed the next day to present my letter and the watch to the Emperor. When he arrived at the Darbar, followed by Raja Kishrao who carried both, he took them and placed them before the Padshah, adding to this present all the favourable things that can be said. The Emperor, when he examined the watch, was delighted at the delicacy of the work, and after displaying it for some time with praise, he asked the Daroga if it was an article made at Pondicherry, to which he replied that in this country one is not even capable of making the box which encloses it. An order was at once given to send me a present with a sarpech and an elephant, the whole accompanied by a firman which confirms all that his predecessor has already confirmed, titles, dignities and concessions given to the nation by Salabat Jang. This present is on the way.

There was a long conversation between the Emperor and the Vazir on the means to fetch as at the Court. The proposal for the two lakhs per month for the maintenance of the army and the advances has not met with any difficulty. All the deliberations centre on the dispatch either of a single firman which would give me order to start or on two, of which the other would be addressed to Salabat Jang with the order to send us.

If this firman arrives, will there be any means to avoid or advance pretexts to drag on matters until we receive news from Europe where M. de Leyrit has sent the extracts of my letters ? However, although M. De Leyrit appears to hesitate, he will decide in favour of this journey, if he sees advantages in it. There are real ones in it and no difficulties. But if you thought otherwise, I would not involve myself in it. You know my reasons. I would, however, have some regret at the failure of such fine projects which, I can say, might not be excluded by others.

You know better than anyone that I do not feed on vain hopes and that I realise that to involve the Company into fresh expenses is to wrongly follow its interests. You also know that I have had a perfect knowledge of the whole Mughal Empire and the form of its Government, of the different interests of the powers which share it, and I know enough, without fear of making a mistake, how to seize and unravel the truth from the dazzling chimeras which cover it. That is why I shall never be carried away by vain projects which will not yield any fruit.

Whatever revolution may take place, the alliance of the Court of Delhi would always be honourable and advantageous to us. Firstly by the confirmation of what we possess on the Orissa Coast and elsewhere, more ample and more detailed than that which the Emperor has given us by his letter.

Secondly, to see the disputes for the province of Arcot settled by arrangements which would be taken at this Court to place back this province as it was previously under the orders of the Subhedar of the Deccan, observing to give to the interested parties certain concessions which they cannot refuse without declaring themselves openly as perpetrators of the troubles and betraying their desire to dominate.

Thirdly, to demand for such an expedition an year's advance salary for our army, and by that arrangement the revenues of the Four Circars would enter the treasury of the Company, with the exception of the maintenance of a small detachment which we must leave with Salabat Jang. As for our absence from Machchalipatnam and our Four Circars, there is no evil consequence. The Darbar of the Nawab cannot also take umbrage at it. I enter into a greater detail in the letter I have sent to Pondicherry.

We must also agree that if we had once a footing at the Court of Delhi, the Subhedar of the Deccan, the Marathas, etc., all will placate us and would then be under our total dependence. The former especially and the officers of the Emperor who are stationed with him would be afraid of being removed.

The Subhedar of Bengal would also be forced to have for us considerations which he never had, and we might have in this part

all that would conduce to our well being and protect us once for all from the vexations. All that is certainly fine, but we must have a *Dupleix* in India for its execution.

I must render you an account of what has just taken place at the Darbar between Salabat Jang, Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan, Divan of the Emperor and some other supporters of Muhammad Ali Khan. The latter, under the pretext of false zeal for the interests of the Nawab and at heart to serve Muhammad Ali Khan advised Salabat Jang to ally himself and correspond with the English, by which means, they said, he could derive some advantage from the Carnatic, since they were masters of Muhammad Ali Khan and of the territory, that it was the means to palliate in the eyes of the Padshah his disgrace (of Salabat Jang) for his inability to preserve this province, etc. The Nawab objected that this measure would embroil him with the French. "What will be the result of it?" he asked. They replied to him. They would retire. In that case, you will get back the Four Circars which they cannot refuse to return to you while quitting you. Muhammad Ali Khan and the English would furnish you, as they had already proposed it, troops whose salary and maintenance would be dream from the province of Arcot which has escaped you, and which you would allow to belong to whom it could fall. For that purpose, you have only to deliver the paravana to Muhammad Ali Khan for which you will also get a suitable nazar". "But the Marathas?" asked Salabat Jang. "To keep them, in check", they replied to him, "we must have firanguis". "Ah!" said the Nawab, "I cannot approve what you propose to me. What will they say at the Court of the Padshah and elsewhere, after what M. De Bussy has done for me, and to betray him in this manner? He would perhaps make war with me. He has many friends in the Deccan, and moreover, the English would deceive me as they have deceived Muhammad Ali Khan. The arrival of Shah Nawaz Khan put an end to this conversation. This is, Sir, a matter for your reflections. However, to prevent vexatious ones, I can assure you that the Mughals neither are nor will ever be in a position to execute a project of this kind, and still less if once we have a footing at the Court of Delhi.

I am coming out of conversation with Shah Nawaz Khan where I learnt of the intrigues of M. de Noronha. This Mahomedan nobleman, himself surprised that he was a priest or Padri, since he bore the title of Dilaver Jang (it is Shah Nawaz Khan's reflection), showed me several of his letters in which, after establishing that he has full power over the French and the Portuguese, he proposes to Shah Nawaz Khan to obtain for him several thousands of Portuguese with whom he undertakes to destroy Balajirao, demanding in advance a lakh and a half of rupees per month. These musings appear to be already accepted by the fouzdar of Cudappa and Murarrao, founded on the report of Muzaffar Khan who proclaims that as he has served with the Portuguese, he knows the said M. Noronha as a nobleman of distinction, whose words and promises one can and ought to trust. Quite chimerical as these promises and these projects are as the Mughals and the Marathas cannot make all the distinctions between the French, the English and the Portuguese, and considering their soldiers as different individuals and persons, allow themselves to be imposed upon.

He has written to his relative here that he was going to leave for Goa and that he will soon return, etc. All that is the result of his musings. But I hope that the Viceroy of Goa will allow himself to be deceived by it.

I have sent a word to him (the relative of Noronha) write to M. de Noronha to return from here to Pondicherry where I would procure him some comforts. I hope that he will proceed there.

I hope to crown the success of my negotiations and render an important service to the Company by inducing Murarrao to desist from a sum of Rs. 14,00,000 which the Company owes him and for which he had already given some threats to Pondicherry, which urged M. De Leyrit to write to me about it. This matter involves many difficulties. The question is to induce the Darbar of Salabat Jang to grant to Murarrao the demands which he has proposed through his Vakils, whom he has forbidden from making any arrangement with me which might deprive him of the sum which the French owe him. On the other hand, Balajirao, his enemy, and the Darbar of the Nawab are not at all inclined to grant anything to Murarrao. If I

have the good luck to reconcile all these different interests, I shall send to M. De Leyrit the formal document by which Murarrao renounces and declares that the French do not owe him anything.

I hope that this mark of my zeal, which will not be the last, may convince the Company of my attachment to its interests and deserve by that the benevolence of the Minister and the continuation of yours.

The word which I have given you at the time of your departure and your advice are the only bond which restrains me and prevents me from flying towards a father and a cherished mother towards whom the most tender sentiments ceaselessly conduct my thought.

No, Sir, I am not free not to occupy myself with the sweet souvenir of your kindnesses and if the first vessels do not inform me of your prompt return, nothing will be capable of stopping me. I shall hasten to attach myself forever to my real happiness. It is in your hands. Absence and distance, far from weakening its souvenir, only excite my desires.

How my heart has suffered, Sir, when it saw you exposed to the danger of such a long voyage, and I heaved a little sigh when I learnt of your safe arrival at the Cape and I hope that your crossing from this place to France will be as safe. But I shall be perfectly tranquil only when I have the place of a son by your side and when I give you sincere marks of most respectful tenderness.

In order that you could, Sir, show to the whole of France that you had worked for the glory of the nation as well as for the advantages of the Company, and in this respect, the latter ought to have known earlier that it is hardly possible even in the most civilised countries to reap the fruits of the new domains during the first year of possession, in order to prove, I repeat, the outcome of your labours, I am going to render you an account of the finances which relate to my part. You know that you had earmarked the revenues of the district of Condavir for the payment of the debts which I had incurred on my return to the Deccan in 1753, and which I was obliged to incur in 1754. Messrs. de Godeheu and De Leyrit have confirmed this arrangement and have added that I could collect funds from this district and other domains, to provide for this item, for one year and even two, if it

was necessary, to wipe out the debts. By the arrangement which I have made, the Four Circars, after furnishing enough to rejoin Salabat Jang, without needing other succour, have yet left a sufficient balance to partly pay of the said debts in such a manner that two-thirds of the revenues of the district of Condavir alone have sufficed to the total liquidation of the debts incurred in 1753 and 1754. Consequently, the Company will enjoy in 1756 the entire revenues of its old domains, with the exception of my advances, a fact on which I ought to pride myself.

Are more superabundant proofs necessary to speak in your favour? I advance further. It is that the Four Circars subsequently, after covering all the expenses, will furnish to the treasury of the Company a fairly large sum.

Good-bye, Sir, I wish you the best of health. I have plunged myself again into the difficulties of the campaigns. I deliver my interests of all kinds into your hands. My glory is yours, yours is mine.

I remain with the most respectful attachment,

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,
De Bussy.

The Viceroy of Goa has just sent me the Order of Christ.

C² 86, f. 238-242.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jung.
December 31, 1755.

To His Lordship the Controller-General,

My Lord,

Since I had the honour to give you an account of the state of affairs with which I am charged by the ships which left in October, no event has taken place in this part (in spite of the continuous intrigues that are going on) which could break the peace which I established in the Deccan, as soon as there was a chance to succeed in it. It still subsists, and my care is to see that no rupture disturbs it, and very far from having ever been inclined to prolong war, I advocated in different passages of my correspondence a preference to a peace perhaps less glorious for the French name but more advantageous for commerce, and which permitted myself to emerge from the confusion of affairs and the unpleasant life which I lead, to enjoy a tranquillity for which I have been offering very ardent prayers.

The wisdom and firmness of M. de Leyrit, consistent with your views and your intentions, my Lord, and that of the Company, have put a curb on the enterprising audacity of our rivals in the Carnatic. They had taken a little too much advantage of the rather disproportionate difference in the knowledge of the local situation of the two respective commissioners, charged with laying the foundation of peace. That of France, although very capable of fulfilling the commission with which he was entrusted, but a stranger to all the present affairs, had too strong an adversary in that of England who was perfectly acquainted with them. This drawback is repaired since the definite conclusion is reserved for our tribunal.

I take the field for the sixth time with the Subhedar of the Deccan : it is the form of the Government. I am preparing the means, to the best of my ability, to induce this sovereign and his Court to approve the arrangements which we shall receive from Europe. M. de Leyrit has urged me by all sorts of and sound arguments to remain

charged with the affairs of this part for some time longer. You will judge, my Lord, from the following extract of one of his letters to M. de Moracin : " I agree with you, Sir, that it would not be possible to replace M. de Bussy but I hope he will not put me in this embarrassment. He ought to stay, if he thinks correctly, with Salabat Jang until the settlement of the affairs. If he has reason to expect that his services should be recognised by the Minister and the Company, it is only by fulfilling his mission that he can hope for some satisfaction in this respect. I do not doubt that he will make on this subject all the reflections befitting the political situation in which he is today. The conduct, which he will adopt, will influence much the success of the arrangements which have been made for the maintenance of the tranquillity in the region until the orders, which we expect from Europe, can terminate everything."

I hope, my Lord, that M. de Leyrit will not be deceived, and that I shall obtain through your kindness the reward for my services. I am convinced that this Governor will render to you and to the Company a testimony which will finally lead it to take a decision in my favour, if prejudice has rendered that of M. Dupleix suspect for some time. Those of Messrs. Le Godelieu and of de Leyrit (from whose letters of October I have sent you some extracts) ought not to be doubted.

I am impatiently awaiting, my Lord, to know your decision on the affairs of India. But if the earlier project of pacification is followed, I predict the ruin of the Company and the complete dishonour of the nation, of which eventuality I shall be delighted not to be a witness. However, if State reasons, which I cannot fathom, urged the Company to abandon everything, I shall always have a blind submission for all its decrees, and whatever decision it takes, it can count on my zeal and my attachment.

I had the honour to address you, my Lord, by the ships of October the copies of the last letters which I had received from the Emperor and his Vazir. I have received another one from them of which I attach herewith the translation. The Emperor and his Vazir would indeed wish that we should unite with them to complete the work of humbling the Marathas whom they have expelled from Hindustan

and forced to recross the Narmada which serves as a boundary to the Deccan. I have pointed out to M. De Leyrit the advantages and the disadvantages of the offer which the Court of Delhi proposes to us, and as I never indulge in chimeras, as the solid alone concerns me when it is a question of the general weal, as I have a perfect knowledge of the Mughal Empire and of the form of its Government and of the different interests of the powers which share it, I can, without fear of being deceived, comprehend and distinguish the truth from the glittering chimeras which envelope it, and I am never fascinated by vain projects which cannot yield any fruit. Allow me to offer reflections which appear to me founded on this basis.

Firstly, whatever revolutions take place, the alliance of the Court of Delhi would always be honourable and advantageous to us, provided, however, the Company, without regretting what it has spent during the early years of the possessions, supports the edifice which is about to procure for it the fruit of its expenses. We know that in every country (even the most civilised), it is hardly possible, during the early years, to enjoy entirely the revenues from a fresh acquisition.

Secondly, I know, my Lord, that to involve the Company into fresh expenses would be to ignore its real interests. But if the fruit of the alliance, still in the form of a project, could be first of all the repayment of a part of the advances made during the war, nothing assuredly would be more advantageous, we can also procure the confirmation of everything that we possess on the side of Orissa and and elsewhere, more ample and more detailed than that which the Emperor has given us by his letter.

Thirdly, it ought to terminate the disputes for the province of Arcot by the arrangements which would be made with this Court to put back this province, as it was beforehand, under the orders of the Subhedar of the Deccan, while observing to give to the interested parties certain satisfaction which they cannot refuse without declaring themselves as perpetrators of troubles and betraying the desire to dominate.

Fourthly, we ought to demand for such an expedition an year's advance salary for our army, and thereby, the revenues of the Four

Circars would enter into the treasury of the Company with the exception of the maintenance of a small detachment which we must leave with Salabat Jang. As for our absence from Machchalipatnam and our Four Circars, there is no ill consequence. I have entered into a greater detail in the letter which I have sent to Pondicherry, which will undoubtedly be communicated to you.

We must again remember, my Lord, that if we had once a footing at the Court of Delhi, the Subhedar of the Deccan, the Marathas, etc., all will placate us and would then be totally in our dependence. Especially, the former and the officers of the Emperor, who are with him, would be afraid of being dismissed.

The Subhedar of Bengal would likewise also be forced to have consideration and deference which he never had for us. We can have in this part all that would suit us and once for all protect us from vexations.

I hope, my Lord, to complete the success of my negotiations and render an important service to the Company by inducing Murarrao to desist from a sum of 14 lakhs of rupees which the Company owes him and for which he has already given some threats to Pondicherry which urged M. De Leyrit to write to me about it. This affair involves many difficulties. The question is to persuade the Darbar of Salabat Jang to grant to Murarrao the demands which he has proposed through his Vakils whom he has forbidden to make any arrangement with me which might deprive him of the sum which the French owe to him. On the other hand, Balajirao threatens to break the peace with the Darbar if Morarrao, his enemy, is shown favour, and the Darbar is quite far from granting anything to Murarrao. If I have the good luck to conciliate all these different interests, I shall send to M. De Leyrit the formal document by which Murarrao renounces and declares that the French do not owe him anything.

I wish, my Lord, that this mark of my zeal, which will not be the last one, could convince the Company of my attachment for its interests and thereby deserve your kindness. I solicit you, Sir, to receive the repeated assurances of my respect and my attachment, and a fresh prayer to kindly honour my services with your approval.

It is only with your powerful protection that they can secure recognition and obtain some rewards. It will be very flattering for me to owe it entirely to you.

I have given you an account, my Lord, of war and politics. I now come to finance. M. Godeheu, at the time of his departure from Pondicherry, had allocated all the revenues which I needed, for a year and even two if it was necessary, on the province of Condavir and the other domains of the Company, for the payment of the debts of the Deccan and for taking the field again. But by the arrangements I have made, the Four Circars, after furnishing enough to region Salabat Jang, have still left wherewithal to pay off partly the said debts, so that the two-thirds of the revenues of the district of Condavir have sufficed for the entire settlement of the debts contracted in 1753 and 1754. Consequently, the Company will completely enjoy the revenues of its domains in 1756, with the exception of my advances, a fact on which I ought to pride myself.

M. Dupleix wrote to me from the Cape of Good Hope and pointed out to me that he has the honour to be related to you. This news, I admit it, my Lord, crowned me with perfect joy, as I knew how enlightened and impartial you are. I hope to obtain the fruit of my labours from the good report which he must have given you of them and that you will be my patron in Europe, as he had been so in Asia. Another advantage is to know that you are at the head of the tribunal in which all the affairs of India are decided; those of M. Dupleix are intimately connected with it. He ought to expect, all the justice he deserves in so many respects from the integrity and sagacity which are natural to you.

Allow me, Sir, to express to you here that I remained attached to my country only because it is M. Dupleix who is its prime mover. Besides, I shall always be delighted to show howmuch one owes to his mother-country when one has the patriot's soul. But after fulfilling my mission to the satisfaction (I venture to say it) of the whole nation, if M. Dupleix remained in Europe, allow me to ask you the favour of also retiring there to rest after all my labours and enjoy the pleasure to offer you my respects.

I think, my Lord, that you will not be sorry to know an interesting piece of the history of Nadir Shah on the occasion of the invasion of this prince in the Mughal Empire. As there is no doubt that all the narratives, which have appeared on this subject, have been considerably inflated because of the distance of places which exaggerate or alter the circumstances. You will be very glad to hear one from a good source. The document attached herewith was faithfully delivered to me by a nobleman who was a witness of this great event, as he was then in the service of the Persian. At his departure he remained at Delhi where since that time he has interested himself in the fortune of Nizam-ul-Mulk and his successors.

The correspondence alone which I maintain today at the Court of Delhi renders my negotiations much easier, holds all the powers in check and places me in a very high consideration.

I remain very respectfully,

My Lord,

Your very humble and very obedient servant.

De Bussy.

C² 92, f. 152-163 v^o.

From the French Camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
February 6, 1756.

Sir,

I received your letter dated the 5th ultimo in reply to mine of the 5th December. As the majority of the items it contains, serve as a reply to some of my previous letters I shall treat in the one only those which appear to demand it.

It is not surprising that as Muhammad Ali Khan and the English are in possession of the capital which gives authority and the name to the subha, they gain, credit in this province and the people consider them as their masters. Their credit would definitely fall, if war happened to be kindled again and if we seriously attacked this capital and became masters of it.

Your reflection, Sir, is just. The state of uncertainty, in which our affairs are, does not permit us to undertake an expedition which would move further away a part of our forces. The Coast of Orissa, in which our possessions excite so strongly the jealousy of our rivals would remain exposed to their invasion and even to their discretion, although it is true to say that it is less my army than my reputation which protects the Four Circars from the revolutions. Obligated as we are to follow the Subhedar of the Deccan I had moved away from our possessions last year by 500 Koss; however, everything remained tranquil there. But this advantage does not suffice against the English to whom we must oppose forces capable of stopping their progress.

I can gain time without breaking or definitely concluding with the Emperor and his Vazir. I have just received letters from the Court, of which you will find the translations, and the fear that there may happen to the original which I announced to you as to the first one¹. I learnt at the same time an anecdote which shows that Muhammad Ali Khan and his supporters do not confine their intrigues to the Darbar of Salabat Jang. But my relations with the Court of Delhi and the correspondence which I maintain there, independently of the honour which

1. Some words are obviously missing.

results from it, prevent the progress of the measures which Muhammad Ali Khan continuously takes there. Here is on this subject what Raja Quisserao, daroga of the harakaras of the Emperor writes to me on the part of the Vazir: "Muhammad Ali offers me (it is the Vazir who speaks) to send here all the funds of the province of Arcot if he is given the 'sanad' or paravana with the 'Kitab' of Vendet-ul-Mulk. Moreover, he writes that he can, whenever he wishes, send me 'firanguis' and 'gardis' (sipahees), that the English are his friends and at his disposal. Inform Vendet-ul-Mulk (M. de Bussy) and tell him that I have not taken any decision, either for the title because it is his (Bussy's) or for the sanad out of respect for him and his nation. Point out to him that I await his reply on this subject. It is also advisable that he should have a Vakil, resident with the Emperor and me on behalf of the French. Write about it to Vendet-ul-Mulk. In the meantime, I appoint your son to occupy this place on his behalf."

All that, Sir, covers the nation with honour, but I await your orders and your intentions on this issue to put the finishing stroke to it.

Salabat Jang is informed of the intrigues of Muhammad Ali Khan with the Vazir and would be more annoyed if he was not shown a letter and addressed to his Vakil, of which there is the substance :

"I am glad to inform you that by the grace of the Lord, I have put order in the whole province. I continue to have the English and the 'gardis' with me. I expect to send Abdul Wahab Khan to Nellore. Sernapaly and Maphus Khan is at Tirnomalet. I have settled my affairs with the English and we have agreed that I would always have 700 firanguis and 2000 gardis for whom I shall furnish 27 lakhs, namely, 12 lakhs in 'tankars' on rescriptions on Arcot and 15 on Tirnomalet. As the French and the English expect news (from Europe) I had to take the precaution to publicise that the English were with me only to recover what I owed to them, but it is only a pretext. Assure the master that I continue to be his faithful servant and word."

That, Sir, may be true or false. Whatever it may be, there have been fresh meetings of the Darbar, as you think it rightly, in which it has been discussed that as Muhammad Ali and the English together administered the country, it was necessary to treat with them to prevent

this province from completely escaping from their hands, and as they are absolutely in the dark about the form of our government. They think, as you have remarked that everything as among them, is personal and momentary, and conclude from it that we rest content with what we have, since we do not act. I cannot describe to you all the quarrels which I have on this subject and the troubles I take. The credit of Muhammad Ali Khan and his supporters which augments from day to day and which I destroy only by the influence, the souvenir and the fear which I have been able to inspire on occasions when it was necessary to do so.

You must have seen from my correspondence with M. Dupleix what kind of a genius is that of Salabat Jang. You must have also seen in it the blow I dealt to Sayyad Lashkar Khan to replace him by Shah Nawaz Khan, his enemy, whom he had reduced to the last extremity. The latter seems to forget all that he owes to me, and I knew that he agreed with Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan when the Nawab communicated to him the conversation of which I gave you the report in my letter of the 5th December. He has moreover, taken into his service the old Vakil of Muhammad Ali Khan through whom, I suppose, he gives him information. The name of this Vakil is Sounsscar and he comes to see me sufficiently frequently. Any other person but me would allow himself to be deceived by the exterior of Shah Nawaz Khan who does not disclose what he thinks inwardly. However, I am about to force him to return to the position from which I raised him (unless he changes) and supports the honour and the interests of the nation. It is not possible for you to prescribe to me anything on this subject, since I myself do not know the meaning which I shall employ, if I am obliged to come to that extremity and which the circumstances alone will furnish me.

Would Salabat Jang behave on all occasions in such a manner as we might wish him to do so in all aspects. He is far from being annoyed with anyone who gives him counsels which are palatable to Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan. This game of intrigues and cabals is, like an element, the occupation (and if I can say so), the daily food of the men of Asia. That is what makes the scene so changing. The resource that remains is to destroy an intrigue by another by making use of

the ways collected from the knowledge of the local place and the politics of the government which has nothing in common with ours.

It is true that the King of Mysore has nothing to fear for this year from Balajirao who will employ for this campaign those who could go there and cause some bloodshed. As for the Subhedar, there is no likelihood that he will pay him a visit for a long time. It is too expensive and too fatiguing an expedition to make it every year even if other interests would not oppose it. Usually the dues are allowed to be accumulated so that the sums which are obtained can compensate for the fatigues and the expenses. Moreover, the revolution which is preparing there may not take place, and unless you are under the walls of the capital, the Darbar cannot think of favouring any party. Balajirao will always be feared by the Mysorian. He has once extracted contributions from him. The place is marked, and if this year he is occupied elsewhere, the second visit, in the style of the first one, is only deferred. He can be protected from it only by stirring up other affairs for this Maratha Chief. This nation moves with greater speed, where interest calls it, than the Mughals. Don't think, Sir, that Salabat Jang is always free to move his army where he wishes. If an expedition removes the chiefs, who compose it, too farther away, then, they have to be won over. The great care of the Darbar is to watch the moves of Balajirao and parry the blows which may come from the Court of Delhi.

Whether Salabat Jang fall in or not with the dispositions of Balajirao to go into the Carnatic to demand his Chauthai that is what bothers this Maratha very little. It is I who have always prevented this expedition by stirring up work for him elsewhere. Thus, in case of war, if ever you desired that Balajirao should appear in this province, you have only to speak, I undertake to bind him to this operation, which has this disadvantage that these sorts of me devastate and plunder the friend as well as the enemy, which predicament we might avoid by furnishing our places with troops.

I once again refer to the item of Mysore in order to point out to you that the intention of M. Dupleix was never to put Nand Raj in possession of Trichuchirapalli in case we had captured it. Supposing that he had this design, the information, the advice and the knowledge I gave

him, which fact you must have seen in my correspondence, the representations of Balajirao and those of the Darbar in order not to deliver to a zamindar a Royal town, had led him not to do anything of the sort. But it was advisable that he should always flatter Nand Raj with this bait, and I think that it is still advisable to give him this hope in order to obtain from him some succour if war recommenced. I am surprised at your statement that the Dalvai and the Raja had always opposed the projects which he had formed on this place. It is certainly, Sir, a wrong report, for it these two persons had not consented to it, and if they had not furnished him the troops and the money how could the latter have undertaken this expedition. You know that it is the promise to deliver him this place which had first bound them with friendship with the English and Muhammad Ali Khan. Besides, last year when I was in Srirangapattam, the Dalvai expressed to Hyder Jang so much desire to obtain it and said that he would still spend a crore, if he was sure of succeeding, and took the occasion to give the characteristics of all the chiefs of our troops who had been employed in this part, which I dispense with enumerating to you.

I have picked up the mistake in my last letter on the question of the expenses of this army which do not exceed the revenues in the statement, but which will exceed it considerably because of an event which I did not expect. It is the failure of the rains which reduces all the productions of rice almost to nothing, with the result that the farmer of Elluru and Mustafanagar who is here, absolutely wants a remission of three lakhs. The scantier the rainfall is the more abundant is the harvest of lower class grains. You see, Sir, the vacuum we must fill. In spite of this occurrence I shall manage to make both ends meet without encroaching upon the domains of the Company. It will only prevent me from liquidating this year the sum of Rs. 1,33,245 which still remains due to the nobles. But as the person who lent it, is one of my friends and is in a position to wait, and as this sum does not bear any interest I am not at all embarrassed by it.

You see, Sir, a sample of the life which I lead; the embarrassments and the routine which accompany it, can be borne with great difficulty. I have, however, supported them patiently so far. I omit for you many details which constitute all this labyrinth. Please

judge if I have not reason to desire to come out of it in spite of my successes.

I am very much obliged to you for your attention for the dispatch of the duplicate of the bill of exchange for 25,000 golden pagodas. I solicit you to do the same thing for that of the Rs. 1,00,000 which you will receive, and send me a copy of it. I refer to what I have written to you in my last letter for the other hundred thousand.

Murarrao had advanced in the direction of the Krishna with the sole intention to fight Balajirao and impress upon him that he does not fear him. The parties of the advance guard have made a contact, as I have already written to you, and in the skirmish the advantage has remained with Murarrao. The two armies are at a distance of ten to twelve koss from each other, and we are waiting for the action which will decide the quarrel among the two parties and to which the victory is attached; the anxieties are equal on both the sides. If Murarrao has the upper hand, it is feared that he may push his advantage by seizing and plundering the district of Vijapur to avenge himself on the Darbar which refused to listen to his Vakils to whom he has given orders no more to visit it and not to have any dealing with me. Personally annoyed with Shah Nawaz Khan, he will push his resentment as far as he can to the prejudice of the Nawab, and can shield the Pathans and the Zamindars, who are his allies, from the proceedings of the Darbar. This is what induced me to urge him to deposit the document of desistance which we demand.

If Balajirao is the victor, the consequences would not be less to be feared. Sadoba, one of his brothers or first cousins, ardently solicited him this winter to plant his flag on Aurangabad, to compensate himself for the losses he was suffering in Hindustan. He must have fought this project for sometime, but had finally adopted it, when one Madoba whom he also calls his brother, and in whom he has much confidence and with whom I am in close relations, represented to him the consequences which this step would have, the war he must support against the French, allies of Salabat Jang, who would come to recapture what would have been seized from him and the reputation of bad faith which he would acquire for himself by breaking so essentially the treaty which he had made with them, etc. Matters stood at that point

when the quarrel with Murarrao arose. If Balajirao terminated it to his advantage, could he not resume the project the execution of which is perhaps only deferred, and will he not think that he has the right to complain and avenge himself for not joining him in his quarrel with Murarrao? The anxieties of the Darbar are well founded. I expect that if this Maratha has the advantage, he will completely destroy Murarrao. Then, it will matter little for us if the latter reclaims what is due to him. If, on the contrary, these two chiefs make peace, Balajirao will have no cause to reproach me if I protect Murarrao.

It is quite certain that the Mughals, enlightened on their interests, are endeavouring to forment divisions among the Maratha chiefs, and if Holkar succeeded in bringing about reconciliation between Balajirao and Murarrao, it would be because the underhand intrigues could not succeed in foiling this reconciliation; full opposition can be raised against it. Whatever be our situation, we can neither undertake to destroy them nor think of succeeding in this venture. Even if they suffered a great defeat, their destruction would still be very far off. The politics of Asia, as I have said it, has nothing common with that of Europe, not even the means which are employed to weaken or ruin one's enemy.

All that appears to oppose Balajirao delights the Mughals. There are only two chiefs in the Deccan, the Subhedar and Balajirao, mutually jealous of their advantages and careful to profit by the occasions to harm each other. Besides this opposition which turns these two nations into rivals, the Mughals seek to recover the district of Khandesh, which the circumstances obliged them to cede to the Marathas. The war with the latter is very difficult. Whatever successes the Mughals may have over their adversaries, it is almost always disastrous to them, because whilst Balajirao fights in one part of the Deccan he has the other plundered, so that the advantages of the Mughals compensates them neither for the expenses of the war nor for the losses caused by the pillage. That is why we must have huge funds, take precautions and measures much in advance to operate against this nation with success. It is not that Balajirao is personally so redoubtable as the Europeans usually are. Master of a very vast stretch of the country, he needs a large number of troops

to defend himself against the external enemies and support himself against those of his nation. As Prime Minister he has a very great authority and he has almost been able to become a despot *vis-a-vis* other Maratha chiefs whom he holds in his dependence, either by force or by skill. That is why so many persons envy him and are jealous of him and whom fear alone prevents from declaring themselves (against him) (Murarrao is the only one who has dared to do so). A Brahmin by origin, Balajirao ought not have been at the head of the affairs and the armies. The factions against him are frequent and usual, but he knows how to dispel them, and to succeed in it, he is obliged to be on his guard against his own nation as much as against the outsider. The troops, which are in his service, do not number more than 12000 of whom 5000 are all Brahmins. When we declared war on him during the first year of my soujourn in the Deccan and when by a series of successes we pushed him as far as Poona, place of his usual residence, he made the greatest efforts to avert the storm, and although he had assembled all the chiefs and engaged all the Marathas, by distributing money, to help him, his army did not go beyond 60,000. I wrote at this time to the Marquis of Tawra, as M. Dupleix had recommended it to me, to operate in his turn. He indeed made preparations but the peace which the Darbar made with Balajirao prevented the execution. Today the Viceroy appears to undertake some expedition.

I thought you will be pleased, Sir, if I gave you some details about this Maratha chief whose name alone imposes today on the whole of this region in India and whom the Europeans alone hold in check. Termicary¹; who came on behalf of Fatteh Singh at the head of 500 cavalry to reinforce the army of Balajirao, was completely defeated by the zamindar of Sholapur.

The fouzdar of Cuddapah has left 3000 cavalry in the fortress of Acosta and has joined the army of Savnur and Murarrao with 4000 men. Balajirao has sent his Vakil to this army with all speed. I shall communicate to you the reasons of his visit.

I am very glad that you were content with the small details which I gave you on the subject of the Mughal titles. Although it appears to

1. Trimbak Hari.

be a small matter, we must nevertheless pay attention to it, when we have to treat important transactions with the Mughals. It is true that M. Godeheu had assumed the title of 'Nasir Jang' which signifies a thundering victor, and this is what the Mughals say on this question : "who gave this title to the new Governor of Pondicherry, he who came, from what he gave us to understand by the harakaras, to remain quiet and simply carry on commerce, etc." ?

Now, Sir, I refer to the document which you ask me to send you for the titles of Hapthazari, etc. It is not proper that the Darbar of Salabat Jang should send it to you. Let me know if you want me to demand it from the Court of Delhi. I repeat it to you, nothing does us greater honour here, than the correspondence which I maintain with this Court and especially my close relations with the Vazir. It is not necessary to extol myself before you, but I would tell you that I succeeded to this point of intimacy with an emperor and a Minister who believe themselves above all the Princes of the earth, only after almost insurmountable difficulties. I already experience, as a result of this connection, what you judge as advantageous, considerations which the officers and the Subhedar will show to us. However, I shall not rely on the faith of a court and a nation which sacrifices everything as soon as it finds the means to obtain money and to which we might apply what the formerly said of the Greeks *Times Danaos and dona ferentes*¹.

The Nawab, Shah Nawaz Khan and others accompanied me when I went to receive the firman of the Emperor with the usual ceremonies. All those, who read it, said to me while congratulating me that I could receive nothing more honourable than the Emperor never wrote likewise to his Emirs and that he used in any case, the expressions which he employs only with his Vazir. I have sent copies of it, according to the custom, as I did on other occasions, wherever it is necessary, especially to Murarrao, Balajirao, Vijay Ram Raja, the King of Mysore, etc. It cannot but create a very good effect in the last place in so far as what we expect from it.

The intrigues of M. de Noronha do not bother me, but it is not surprising that Murarrao should have fallen in with his dreamings.

1. The translation is : I fear the Greeks even when they bring gifts.

One always imposes on men who have no idea of our Government, and he (Murarrao) believes so much whatever he is told that the latest news announces that he procrastinates in order to receive those who come from Dilawar Jang.

We are marching towards the Krishna and I think that M. Dupassage should better come by sea to Macchhalipatnam. As for his salary, you need not doubt, Sir, my desire to oblige him. But you have seen what my embarrassments are to provide for the expenses of this army.

I hope that you must have taken into consideration the statement of my advances which I had the honour to send you by my last letter. I solicit you, Sir, to kindly give your orders to expedite its payment. You would give me fresh marks of all your kindnesses if you would furnish me and send to France a bill of exchange for 11,480 golden pagodas which remain due to me by the treasury of Machchalipatnam, of which M. Morain, as he writes to me by his letter of the 26th December, could not furnish me the rescription on the Supreme Council. Here is the extract of this letter :

"It is not possible for me to deliver to you at present a rescription for 11,480 pagodas which remain due to you by our treasury. The wording of the last letters of M. de Leyrit constitute an obstacle to it. All that I can do is to carry with me this rescription and urge M. de Leyrit with all my force to send it. If he does not absolutely consent to it, I shall cancel it and you will be paid in the month of May or April at the latest."

I wish that the news from Europe is favourable to us and does not force me to go and enjoy in the bosom of my country the fruits of my labours. Peace is very desirable but it still appears very far off.

We are actually working on a map of all the places of the Deccan which I have gone through. I expect that the person who occupies himself with this job will be very happy to send it you.

I request you, Sir, to write to M. Denis (who will require much time to be as acquainted with the facts as was M. Moracin) so that he conforms to what I shall write to him concerning the affairs

of Elluru, of which I shortly expect to dispatch the farmer. Please tell M. Denis that he should carefully guard the prisoners whom I might send him during the absence of M. Moracín.

I have received at the moment another letter from Raja Quisserao who assures me that it is absolutely false that there has never been sent to Muhammad Ali any firman which serves him as a little or a paravana for the affairs of Arcot and that I can rest assured that he will not receive any.

The Nawab came to know of the name which this rebel has given to the town of Arcot. I can assure you, Sir, that if the affairs of this part permitted him to appear in this province, he would have no concern for all our treaties, which it is surprising that we should have made without having any consideration for the legitimate master of the region. The English were not obliged to have this attention.

Translation of the firman of the emperor addressed to M. de Bussy, received on January 31, 1756.

To the very worthy of the favour of the King of the Kings which favour you deserve ; that it should never be absent from you ; that you should always be crowned with it ; its kindness should multiply for you ; always be very worthy of my graces and my Royal benevolence. The very faithful Sephet Daulah Hamdet-ul-Mulk M. de Bussy, Bahddar Ghazamfar Jang, Sipah Salar, let your honour, your glory, your valour, grow stronger and augment by my Royal kindnesses. Your respectful and affectionate petition was presented to me by Raja Quissherao alongwith 121 golden rupees and the present of a watch and a golden snuff-box inlaid with diamonds in the name of your emperor, my brother, through the Vazir Elmomalek, my son Jumel-ul-Mulk Bahaddur Fatteh Jang, Sipah Salar, descended from an illustrious House of Sayyad, the glory of Emirs, the support and the ornament of religion and of the empire, the arm of the emperor, the support of my crown, the conqueror of kingdoms, another myself, my intimate confidant, a great warrior as well as a great Minister, support of a throne equal to that of Salomon.

I. Saif ud daulah Umdal Mulk.

Your petition has delighted me as much as the sight of light. I have seen that you are unshakable in your fidelity, the support of my greatness, my glory and my authority, your happiness is unparalleled. All that is crammed in my heart with a glitter similar to that of the sun's rays which reflect on a mirror.

The Vazir Elmomalek has given me a faithful account of your valour and your exploits. I am the born protector of the Princes and no one approaches my throne without receiving graces beyond even his hopes.

My faithful and beloved Salabat Jang Assifet Daulah Maderel Mulk Jafar Jang Sipahee Sardar of the Subhas of the Deccan, having given you the mansab of Hapthazari, Hafthazar Swar, Alem nakara, Mahi Maratib, and the titles of Sephet Daulah Houmdel ul Mulk Ghazamfar Jang Bahaddur with the jaghirs and lands to your nation, I confirm, ratify and approve everything, and I send you as the Vazir has represented to me, a Khilat, Sarpech and an elephant. I expect that crowned with so many favours, you and your nation will be attached to my person and my Empire, and that you will comply with to what I shall write to you subsequently, and you will always receive the fresh marks of my benevolence and of my kindnesses.

Given on the 25th of the moon of Safar the second year of my reign.

We, the undersigned, certify and attest the present translation as true and conformable to the original, which we have seen and heard interpreted. Executed in the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang, February 1, 1756. Signed: Riboux, Montagnier de la Roque, de Montjustin, Jesuit Signed: Bussy.

Translation of the letter of the Vazir to M. de Bussy, written in his hand, received on January 31, 1756.

After the usual compliments, customary with the Musalmans.

I received through Raja Quicherao¹ the letter, the watch and the gold bedecked snuff-box which you sent and which gave me an infinite pleasure. Previously, I received presents of this type, but I never

1. Keshavrao.

saw any of such exquisite, and beautiful workmanship. I presented to the emperor the 121 gold rupees on your behalf, and the snuff-box with the watch studded with diamonds which you sent him on behalf of the great Emperor of the French. I did not fail to speak to the Padshah, as you desire it, about your valour, your exploits and your fidelity and that of your nation, and about the services which you have rendered in the Deccan. The Padshah confirms to you all the titles which were conferred on you by Salabat Jang, as also all the lands and jahgirs which were given to you and to your nation. He sends you a Khilat, a sarpech and an elephant as a mark of a favour which he does not grant to the greatest Emirs. I hope that you and your nation will always be attached and faithful to the padshah and grateful for the services which I have rendered you on this occasion and that you will put no limits to your friendship. Your reputation of rectitude and fidelity and that of your nation is known to all Asia. I hope that you will give from day to day the greatest proofs of it to the Padshah and to me. I have always sought your friendship and I imagine that I have obtained it. I expect that you will often write to the Padshah and me, and that you will comply with what I have asked Raja Quicherao to say to you.

Raja Quicherao and Raobedinatrao have told me how sincerely you were my friend; that is why I yearn to see you. I hope that our friendship for each other will surely go on augmenting. Salabat Jang and I, we are friends and we both ought to pressure generals like you for the honour and the welfare of the Padshah.

We, the undersigned, certify and attest the present translation as true and conformable to the original, which we have seen and heard interpreted. Executed in the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang. February 1, 1756. Signed: Riboux, Montagnier, de la Roque and de Montjustin, Jesuit. True Copy Signed: Bussy.

Translation of a letter from Raja Quicherao, head of the harakaras of the Mughal Emperor, to M. de Bussy, received on February 9, 1756.

After the usual compliments, etc.

You must have by now received the firman, the Khilat and the sarpech from the Emperor, along with the letters from the Vazir

Elmomalek, and you must have noticed if I have served you with zeal and fidelity. I have not left you in the dark about any event which has taken place at this court and which might interest you and your nation. It is needless to tell you about the dispositions of the Padshah and of his Vazir for you. You have fresh proofs of it in the letter of the Padshah, which I am sending you, written in his own hand. Let me know in what manner I can serve you, and if there are any places where I could protect the people of your nation who depended on you. I reported to you in my last letter all the discussions that took place about Anaverdi Khan¹, fouzdar of the Carnatic. Recently, some letters were again received from this man who continues to promise to the Vazir Elmomalek secour in money and english Firanguis. Distance prevents me from following here the details which you have given me on the subject of the Carnatic and which I did not fail to communicate to the Padshah and his Vazir. This proceeding has frustrated the plans of Muhammad Ali Khan and the English who wrote to them that they have always beaten the men of Pondicherry and that they were the masters of the province. Set your mind at rest about the proceedings at this court and be convinced that we shall take no decision on any matter which concerns you and which might do you harm. I need not also advice you to preserve the favour of the Padshah and the Vazir. The latter has appointed my son as your Vakil and I hold his post in this capacity at the Darbar of the Padshah. I am writing in detail to my gumasta. He will also deliver to you a letter from the Baxi Elmomalek (generalissimo) who ought to ratify all that concerns the titles just as the Vazir does it for what concerns the revenues of the lands and the jahagirs.

We, the undersigned, certify the present translation as conformable to the original which we have seen and heard interpreted. Executed at the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang, February 10, 1756.
Signed : Riboux, Montagnier, de la Roque and de Monjustin, Jesuit.

Translation of the Padshah's letter to Hyder Jang.

After the compliments usual among the Musulmans.

1. Muhammad Ali Khan.

The Vazir Elmomalek presented to me to your humble petition and your nazar of 121 gold rupees, I have noted all its contents. The Vazir Elmomalek also represented to me all that you were doing to preserve and augment the friendship of Umdal-ul-Mulk and his nation. All that he and the French have done for Salabat Jang Asaf ud Daulah Bahaddur. Subhedar of the Deccan, was communicated to me ; it has given me a real pleasure. By this letter I give you marks of my Royal benevolence by confirming to you all the titles which Salabat Jang, Mader-el-Mulk Assefer Daulah, Jafar Jang, Sipahi Salar, has conferred on you. I bestow this favour on you so that your reputation increases and especially your credit with Humdet-el-Mulk and his nation grows and that he has more confidence in you.

We, the undersigned, certify and attest the present translation as true and conformable to the original, which we have seen and heard interpreted. Executed at the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang, January 1, 1756. Signed : Reboux, Montagnier, de la Roque and de Montjustin, Jesuit. True copy. Signed : de Bussy.

Translation of the letter of Abdoul magith Manatom Daulah Baxi Elmomalek, generalissimo, of the armies of the emperor, to M. de Bussy, received on February 9, 1756.

After the usual compliments.

It is with great pleasure that I have put my Destek (signature) on the documents which concern the titles which the Padshah has conferred on you and which ought to remain in the daftars (archives). The Nawab Vazir Elmomalek has often talked to the Padshah about your valour and fidelity and about all that you have done in the Deccan. I pray to God that he should protect you and shower his kindness on you from day to day.

We, the undersigned, certify the present translation as true and conformable to the original, which we have seen and heard interpreted. Executed at the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang, February 10, 1756. Signed : Riboux, Montagnier, de la Roque and de Montjustin, Jesuit.

C² 92, f. 116-125v^o.

Pondicherry, March 9, 1756.

Sir,

I received the three letters which you wrote to me on the 18th and 24th January and the 6th ultimo.

It appears that the different movements of the Marathas in the north as well as in the south will prevent Salabat Jang from deciding on any move in the course of this campaign which may indeed be spent in marches of observations. On the contrary, nothing stops the Marathas who, each, in their turn, reach their goal. This nation today lays down the law in all parts of the Mughal Empire which it will invade in the end if the Mughals do not unite and form a strong resoulution to oppose it.

I would have been very much delighted if the situation of affairs had permitted you to visit the King of Bednur. It would have been an occasion to terminate the differences which we have with him on the Malbar Coast.

With regard to the venture of M. Duplant, I cannot but thank you for the troubles you were kind enough to take to bring it to a satisfactory end and accelerate the payment of his funds. If this attempt succeeds, we can subsequently turn this commercial market it to account for the Company.

The bill of exchange for Rs. 1,00,000 Cuddalore rupees has produced here only Rs. 96,540-14-10 as you will see it from the account which you have herewith. As the Guseratte¹ wanted to give me the exchange only for 50,000, I was forced to send the other 50,000 to the mint on which there was a greater less, and as I was obliged to send the bill of exchange with which you wished you should be furnished on the Company in France for the total amount of this sum, I obtained it for Rs. 97,000 before knowing exactly the net produce of your rupees, so that today you owe me Rs. 459-1-30. You have herewith

1. Gujarati.

the third copy of this bill of exchange which has been drawn, as you wished it, to the order of M. de Montaran. The first copy was sent by the ship *le Duc* "Acquitaine and the esecond by the vessel *le Lys*.

The Viceroy of Goa furnished the Angre with a succour of 400 Portuguese, for which he received Rs. 2,00,000. I have since heard that this corps of troops, dissatisfied with bad reception given to it at Gheria, had returned to Goa, but this report requires confirmation.

Receive, Sir, my congratulations on the Cross of Christ which the King of Portugal has sent you. This honour is in keeping with the circumstances which cannot but flatter you.

So long as the affairs of the province of Arcot remain in the state of indcision in which they are today, we must oppose the moves which Muhammad Ali Khan and his supporters are making to obtain the paravana of this province. Sampatrao continues to stay at Madras and conducts the affairs of Muhammad Ali Khan and the English.

If the attitude of the Court of Delhi depends on money which can be spread there, Salabat Jang will always be in a better position to employ it to the best advantage there than Muhammad Ali Khan who is exposed to expenses for which, in my opinion, the revenues of the province of Arcot can hardly suffice. The time is approaching when we ought to receive news from Europe. We as well as the English are impatiently awaiting to know what our fate will be. If as I think, we have a prolongation of truce, it will be very difficult to preserve things in the equilibrium in which we are endeavouring to maintain them for a year. The Darbar of Salabat Jang would not be easily persuaded to lose the revenues of the largest province of his Government for several year, and Balajirao, in his turn, will not cease to demand the Chauthai and the (sar) deshmukhi which he ought to get. There is every ground to fear that the continuous demands of the latter and the anxieties of the Darbar might give rise to some troubles.

You must have by now received a letter from the Company which appears to recognise the value of your services and to be in a very favourable attitude towards you.

As the revenues of your Four Circars amount, you say, to Rs. 18,76,467 and your expenses to Rs. 18,63,871, I do not understand how you would succeed, if the year were good, in paying from your revenues Rs. 1,33,245 which remain to be paid towards the old debts of the Deccan.

This last sum, added to the advances which you have made for the expenses of your army, the presents and your salary since July 1, 1753, according to the statement which you have sent me, constitute a huge total to which we must also add the sums which are due to M. Moracin and of which you are aware at least to the greatest extent. I wish for your sake and his that the payment can be made as promptly as you desire it.

The ideas which I have communicated to you on the troubles of Mysore and the places which Murarrao occupies on the frontiers of the province of Arcot could materialise only in case you had appeared in these parts, and I did realise that they depended on several circumstances. I do see that the army of Salabat Jang does not assemble as we would like it and that we cannot rely upon it for the affairs of Arcot, in which I notice, as you point it out to me, that only the fauzdar of Cuddapa, Murarrao and the Dalwai could today participate. We might hope to have the latter for us. With respect to Murarrao, I do not think that the English are very eager, like us, to take him in their service. His alliance costs too dearly; it has ruined us. This man has done more harm to us when he was on the side of the English and was not useful to us since we had him on our side. We shall always have to mistrust the fauzdar of Cuddapa so long as we shall occupy Chalambron¹ on which he has claims.

We cannot prevent Muhammad Ali Khan from assuming the titles with which he decorates himself. Moreover, this usurpation is authorized by many examples. There are titles like provinces; one has only to usurp them, and I do not doubt that subsequently Muhammad Ali Khan will obtain all those which he has assumed. If the pategars from whom he has levied contributions had availed themselves of our protection, as an ally or at least as a neutral power, I could have

1. The pagoda of Chidambaram.

opposed his enterprises against them. But none had recourse to us, and all submitted. I do think that some of them today repent of it.

If, as you wrote to me, the Darbar of Salabat Jang had a copy of the conditional treaty drawn up between M. Godeheu and Saunders, it was a document interesting enough to be preserved. I think that it knows nothing very positive on this subject, and that it has spoken only on the reports which were spread about it, and that it will be easy to for us to destroy even the execution of the treaty if it takes place.

I wish that you could succeed in reducing the expenses of the staff of your army. If you add to it your salary and those of M. Law and M. Dupassage, this item will not amounts to less than Rs. 3,60,000.

The conversation, which M. Back had with M. Boddant¹, commandant of Vishakhapatnam concerning you, shows that the English have formed the most flattering idea about you, and it is with reason. Moreover, we ought to have expected the obstacles, which we experience today on the part of the English, from the beginning of our operations.

I am delighted that you have augmented your artillery with two fine cast iron guns with the arms of France. If you find more similar ones, you will do well to lay hold of as many as it will be possible for you to do so.

There is no likelihood, according to what I can conjecture from your letters, that you will approach these parts as I expected it at first, and I am convinced that Salabat Jang will avoid the meeting of Balajirao from whom I have just received a letter by which he communicates to me the victories which he has won over Murarrao whom he holds shut up in a fortress. According to what he adds, he expects to reduce him in a short while and next appear in the province of Arcot. He asks from me succour in men and munitions.

Thus, we are pressed by the Mughals on the one hand and by the Marathas on the other, that is to say, by the two opposite parties to send them succour. In the position in which we are today vis-à-vis

¹ Boddam.

the English whom we are sure to have rivals in every enterprise which we shall undertake, I think that the best thing would be to remain neutral between the two parties and let them settle their differences. But as we can take our decisions only according to the circumstances which time will bring about, it is advisable to drag on the matters by giving hopes to the Mughals without shocking the Marathas by our refusals, and it is in this spirit that I propose to reply to Balajirao whom I do not think daring enough to appear in the province of Arcot unless he is called there by the English or Muhammad Ali Khan.

I hope you could succeed in inducing Murarrao to offer you his waiver for the sums which he claims against the Company. There is nothing better than the arrangements you propose to make on this question. If it is true that he had been beaten, I think that he will be more disposed to agree to them.

For the present, we have nothing to fear for our possessions in the north, but if war recommenced with the English, it would not be proper for you to move away from them as you do today, unless you are in a position to leave forces sufficient and proportional to those which the English could carry there.

It is certainly very glorious for the nation to see itself sought by the Court of Delhi, at the very time when our rivals are offering it the succour which it demands from us. This negotiation requires much circumspection. We must avoid giving new pretexts for jealousy to the English, without, however, breaking with the Court of Delhi, as we must always fear that they might make some arrangements with it, which they would not hesitate to do to the very prejudice of the connections they can have with the Marathas on the side of Bombay.

This fear is all the more founded as it appears from the letter of the daroga of the harkaras that the Vazir is only awaiting your reply to take his decision. Nevertheless, I think that you could gain time; the English have not so much ground and are not so much in a position to furnish to the Mughal the European troops which he demands. Besides, it is advisable to continue to oppose as much as it will depend on us their attempt to obtain the titles which they are

soliciting and the firman which they are demanding for the province of Arcot.

Nothing has transpired about the accord he (Muhammad Ali) has made with the English who are keeping it very secret. But I doubt that he will furnish them 27 lakhs for the maintenance of 700 Europeans and 2000 sipahees. This sum appears to me too large for such a small number of men; it costs only 18 lakhs to Salabat Jang for about 6000 men whom you have today in your pay. Muhammad Ali is imposing and I notice from what you write to me that he succeeds in it only too well.

By your letter of January 18, Shah Nawaz Khan appeared completely devoted to our cause. I am much astonished from what you write to me about him by that of February 6. This is a sudden change and very surprising. Letters have come here from a Gujrati of Hyderabad which makes a mention of a quarrel between Shah Nawaz Khan and Hyder Jang for obtaining from Salabat Jang, by force, the permission to use a Takta or a sort of palanquin, which Salabat Jang alone uses and which he uses only on days of ceremony. From these letters, it appears that the conduct of Hyder Jang is resented. If that is so, it would be very unfortunate that a quarrel of this nature, which has no connection with the present affairs, should be the cause of the change of Shah Nawaz Khan. According to the portrait which has been given to me of him, he is a dangerous man, and it would be necessary to put him out of the way if he persists in the sentiments in which he has been lately. Nevertheless, it would be desirable that he should sincerely resume his friendly dispositions towards us. The disgrace of this man may create for us fresh enemies and have serious consequences, and moreover, I think that the frequent changes in the Darbar of Salabat Jang cannot but enfeeble the authority and estrange the minds with respect to you as they will be attributed to you. You must always mistrust the weakness of Salabat Jang.

There is no more talk here about the troubles of Mysore. Assuredly, the things are pacified there; this is what usually happens in this country when they drag on. I thought that it would have been easy for Salabat Jang to put order there if he had appeared in these parts. If it is true that Balajirao had an advantage over Murarrao as

the former writes to me, he could indeed pay a visit there. This expedition will be easier for him than that of the province of Arcot where I do not think of inviting him or see any utility in it. What engagements could I enter into with him? I have no money to give him and that is what he demands and what, in my opinion, he will neither obtain, from us nor from the English.

I had never believed that it was proper to put Nand Raj in possession of Tiruchchirappalli if we had succeeded in seizing it. I had realised all the disadvantages which you point out to me. Moreover, it would not be on this side that I would like to carry the war if it recommenced. But I shall always try to attract the Dalwai there to keep the English in check and oblige them to divide their forces. I would seriously think of this place only when I would have no longer anything better to do.

I do not dispute that the King of Mysore had his designs on Tiruchchirappalli and that he has them. He has even furnished all the expenses necessary for this expedition. But it is very certain that he had renounced it towards the end not finding any likelihood of success and that he had even recalled Nand Raj, (who, for a long time, resisted the orders of his master), as he could not induce him to abandon this enterprise.

M. Moracin had already informed me of the failure of the harvest in the province under mortgage. The indemnity of three lakhs which the farmers are asking from you, grieves me, I assure you, very much. It is at the present times an unfortunate circumstance for the Company which has not yet enjoyed the revenues of the districts it possesses in the north and which is certainly not ready to enjoy them. I see at a glance nearly 8 lakhs to be paid from the revenues of which the payments is unfortunately not so certain as the expenses which they entail. I am grieved to see the advantages so many times promised to the Company disappear at the moment when we thought we were about to enjoy them.

You must be actually in the know of the position of the dispute between Balajirao and Murarrao, and I presume that this event will have much influence on the operations of the army of Salabat Jang.

I cannot but approve, on all points, the conduct which you have adopted between the two Maratha chiefs who both require much circumspection, especially Balajirao whose resources are incomparably greater than those of his enemy. I am very much obliged to you for the instructive detail in which you enter on what concerns him. If the English did not hold us in check in these quarters, I would have enable you to bring them to reason in a short time, which operation would even be easy for the Mughals if they were less divided. To be reduced to foment a division between these chiefs is a feeble resource from them. You are the only bulwork of Salabat Jang against this nation who would infallibly destroy him if you happened to retire. The Vazir, who made use of them to dethrone the last Emperor and replace him with the one who is today reigning, is certainly afraid of some fresh revolution. Posted with the services which you have rendered and which you still render to Salabat Jang, he realises of what use you would be to him, and as his resources diminish in proportion as the authority of the Mughal weakens in all the parts of his Empire, I am not surprised that he seeks the support of a European nation. There is nothing more glorious for the nation than the preference he gives us. I read with great satisfaction the firman which he has sent you as also the letter of the Vazir and all that has connection with this negotiation. But I doubt that the Minister and the Company will accept the views of this Court. If the settlement with the English takes place, they will think only of withdrawing from the engagements which have been entered into with the Mughals to confine themselves to commerce. I do not know if the execution of this project will be easy ; the conduct which the English will adopt will decide it. But it is at least to what all the ideas of the Minister and the Company and their orders will aim at. However, in the state of indcision in which matters stand, it is advisable to treat this negotiation with due attention and to turn them to the advantage of the nation according to the circumstances in which we may be the friendly relations which you have procured for us with this Court.

A short time back I also received a letter from the Vazir in which he reproaches me because I have not yet sent my letter with the usual presents to the Mughal on the occasion of his accession to the

throne. He is astonished at it, he says, since his master distinguishes us from all other European nations. The pattenmars had also one for the son of Chanda Saheb to whom he makes the same reproaches. By a Post Scriptum, added in his own handwriting to his letter to me, he asks from me the largest number of Europeans that I could spare, as many bomb-throwers as gunners, while requesting me not to refuse him at least fortly if I cannot send him as many as he desires. I promise them to him in my reply, and I solicit him to attribute the delay in not yet sending the letter with the usual presents to the Mughal on the occasion of his accession to the throne, to the different changes that have taken place in the administration of this place, while assuring him that I shall not fail to send them to him as early as it will be possible for me to do so.

As today I can hardly dispense with sending a present to the Emperor, I am embarrassed, as I do not know of what to compose it and have nothing suitable. There are two beautiful Gobelin carpets at Machchalipatnam which were meant for Salabat Jang, but which I think, we can use on this occasion. My intention is to address you my letter and the present, and charge you with dispatching the whole to Delhi. With regard to the gunners and bomb-throwers which I promise, I shall wait for the news from Europe before sending them. If I take a decision on it, they will have to be picked up from your army. You have done the right thing in sending a copy of the firman, which you have received from the Emperor, to all the different courts with which you are in relation. It is the usage among the Mughals, and it cannot but create a good effect. I am pleased to notice that the Nawab, Shah Nawaz Khan and all their retinue accompanied you when to receive the firman from the Emperor.

A letter from Goa, dated the 10th December, informs me that M. de Noronha was soliciting succour for the Nawab of Kittur, and the belief is that he would return as he had come (empty handed). I do not know who this Nawab of Kittur is. Would it be Murarrao ?

M. Dupassage was for a long time undecided whether he should take the land route or whether he should go by sea, to join your army, and that is what delayed him till today. He was preparing to leave by land when your last letter reached me. It leads him to profit by a ship which shortly leaving for Machchalipatnam from where

he will immediately proceed to Hyderabad ; he will await your orders there.

I have furnished you, Sir, by the ships, along with the present copy, with about three lakhs in bills of exchange on the Company. In fact, it is all that I can do, and I think I have taken much responsibility on myself. I have even acted against the instructions which M. Godeheu had left for me by furnishing you a bill for the 25,000 golden pagodas of Machchalipatnam, the payment of which he had assigned to you on the revenues of the districts of the north. You should not doubt my disposition and the pleasure which I have in obliging you. But if, independently of this bill, I had also furnished you two others of which one for Rs. 1,00,000 in advance and the second for the 11480 golden pagodas of which you speak to me, I would have created a very great vacuum in the treasury of the Company, and I would have been liable to receive the reproaches on its part. Why did M. Dupleix not furnish you any bill on the Company for all the advances which you made to him ? All your funds today would have been repaid in France.

I would certainly be very delighted if the news, which we await from Europe, had, by announcing peace to us, enabled you to France and lead there a life less encumbered with cares and labours than the one which you are leading today, and at last enjoy there some rest. But in my opinion, if it is not easy to make this peace which should be advantageous aid honourable to us.

The map of all the places of the Deccan, you have gone through which you are getting prepared, will be interesting, and I shall be pleased to receive it from the person who is actually occupied in preparing it.

I shall write, as you wish it, to Machchalipatnam, but I do not think that M. Denis would deviate from your instructions to him on the subject of Elluru and Mustafanagar.

Although Muhammad Ali has neither titles nor paravanas, he nonetheless enjoys the largest part of the province of Arcot. It is always good to be assured, as you are now by the letter of Quillerao¹, that he hasn't received till today any firman for the province of Arcot

1. Keshavrao.

as also for the titles which he has usurped. Whatever discontent Salabat Jang may have felt against Muhammad Ali Khan, I doubt whether he will ever come to put him down in these parts. A little while ago war had nearly rekindled there. I think I have already written to you that the English army, after levying contributions from Bont Raja and some other palegars in the north of Arcot, had fallen back on this place. The report was spread a little afterwards that it had designs on Vellore. At first I found it difficult to convince myself that the English would decide on an expedition of this importance and which appeared quite contrary to the truce. But what could they not venture after the expedition of Tiruneveli, which we had allowed them to undertake quietly? Thus, the army marched on Vellore with all the paraphernalia which was necessary to lay a siege to it. At the first news I had of it, I called out a detachment of 200 men and 300 sipahees and two guns. Two days later, a sufficiently pressing letter, which I received from the killedar of Vellore, led me to put into the field additional 500 men, 500 sipahees and 4 guns. I wrote a strong letter to the Governor of Madras. I made a levy of sipahees and Mughal cavalry. Our army was within a short time composed of more than 700 European troops including the company of dragoons of Aumont and 8 guns, 1100 sipahees and about 200 Mughal cavalry. I had on this side another train of artillery with 500 to 600. White soldiers also ready to March.

The English had at Vellore 700 Europeans, 1300 sipahees, 20 guns and a sufficiently large Mughal cavalry. Their army appeared superior to ours because of the artillery and the number of black troops which they could assemble; the King's Regiment was at Cuddalore ready to come out.

The rupture appeared inevitable. Our army camped at Balachetty castle, 4 km. below Chetoupet¹, waited for the English to commence the acts of hostilities against the fortress of Vellore to march forward. But the English dared not fire a shot; they contented themselves with plundering and ravaging a few villages, which, however, was sufficient to intimidate the killedar to come to terms with them

1. Chetpet.

without my participation, and this circumstance completely decided me not to advance further. I still do not know what their settlement has been and even whether there has been one. There is a report that it has cost this wretched Killedar Rs. 1,60,000; I had formally promised him the protection he had demanded from me. Whatever it may be, the enemy's army retired to Arcot where it is at present very quite, and as for ours, I also intend to call it back here but by small stages.

This measure on our part has produced enough good effect and has enhanced a little the prestige of the nation of which there was no more mention in these parts. It is, moreover, certain it has saved Vellore. was no more mention in these parts. It is, moreover, certain it has saved Vellore.

Hyder Jang has written me a long letter to which I have not replied on the present occasion. He asks of me a reward for the services which he has so far rendered. Let me know what I can do for him. We notice only occasions for expenses on all sides.

I forgot to reply to the proposal which you make to me to ask for the littles of Haphazari, etc. for me from the Court of Delhi. In my opinion, it is still not the time to make it this demand which should be made only in case we make some arrangements with this Court, which step will depend on the news which we ought to receive by the next ships.

I remain, etc.

Pondicherry, March 13, 1756.

The present letter, Sir, is only to inform you that yesterday I gave leave to the mansabdar who brought me the sarpech from Salabat Jang. He is bearer of a letter which I write to the sovereign in reply to his.

I gave a sum of 400 golden pagodas, two pieces of red cloth, two camlet ones, a double-barrelled gun and two pistols as present to the mansabdar.

I hope he is satisfied with his visit during his stay here. I was also careful to see that it did not cost him anything.

I have the honour, etc.

Pondicherry, March 27, 1756.

I am delivering the present letter, Sir, to M. Dupassage who leaves today for Machchalipatnam from where he will proceed to your army to under your orders. He is to day the third Captain in India and he is a good officer whom I know for a long time, and whom I spare for you as well as for himself to procure him some advantage. It is on various grounds that I recommend him to you. I am very much coivinned that you will be satisfied with him. He has received two thousand rupees here and I give orders to Machchalipatnam that he should be paid one thousand more, the whole on his salary which commences from the first of January.

M. de Maissin, whom you wanted to return to your army, leaves with him.

I remain, etc.

C² 92, f. 164-166.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang.

February 13, 1756.

Sir,

I had the honour to inform you by my last letter of which the duplicate is attached herewith, that Balajirao was dispatching his Vakil to this army with all speed. He arrived accordingly, and the aim of his mission, as I presumed it, is to urge the Darbar to participate in the quarrel of his master with Murarrao and to declare itself for him. We are marching towards the Krishna to approach the two armies. There are many matters to be settled in this part. I have taken measures so that I shall be the sole mediator between Balajirao and Murarrao. This prerogative, exclusive of any other, is necessary for me for an infinite number of reasons the detail of which is too long.

Some days back I again received letters from the Court of Delhi, one, among others, from the Emperor, the whole of it written in his own hand, according to the usage with a European pencil. The Padshah and his Vazir continue to give me marks of greatest esteem. The Mir Baxi, generalissimo of the Empire, through whose hands the grants of titles and dignities ought to pass, just as those of lands and jahagirs are ratified by the Vazir, has written to me a most obliging letter. There are three heads at this Court the Emperor, the Vazir and the Baxi. They are fully in favour of the nation. It will appear unbelievable to certain persons, full of old prejudices, that the French name should be so considered in a court so far off and in which our antagonists move heaven and earth to acquire the esteem by offers of their services which are not accepted in order not to displease the French. It is thus that they express themselves, and the intrigues of Muhammad Ali Khan did not have any effect. However, it does not appear that this failure has discouraged him.

I am endeavouring to reply to all the letters in such a manner as to maintain the good dispositions of this Court for us without making any arrangement with it.

The spirit of desertion has seized our troops, and it is the fresh detachment which has come from Pondicherry and which has spread this unfortunate contagion in the army. Your observation to me at the time that I should not expect to receive the elite of the troops, is very just. But between this elite and a deliberate choice of the bad subjects, in which I know, Sir, you have no part, there is a mean which would have suited this army, in which, for the sake of the honour of the nation and the welfare of affairs, we must have troops on whom we can count as much as the condition of the soldier permits it. But I count so little on this band of murderers, traitors and robbers that I am obliged to employ the sipahis for my guard in imitation of the Nawab, since those, who were employed there, robbed him and then deserted. Those whom I had employed to guard my belongings, after robbing me of a part of my plates, also disappeared. Some have assassinated their sergeant and others were captured, disguised as Mughals, in the tents of the nobles where they were committing robbery. I wish the example which I have set to hang several of them, impresses those who remain. If I had foreseen all these accidents, which certainly do not do us any honour, I would have kept the old ones, whom these new comers force me to regret. Indeed, during the last six years I have not been in the position in which I am in this campaign with this soldiery whom it is hardly possible to discipline while we are marching every day. Perhaps they would have turned into more honest men if they had been kept for some time longer in the garrisons.

I was about to close this letter when harakaras from Arcot arrived and brought letters from the mother of Muhammad Ali Khan for Hyder Jang and his mother. Both contain only marks of friendship. Muhammad Ali's mother assures Hyder Jang that she always considered him as her son, that the troubles which had been agitating the country, did not permit her to write to him often, but that today that they are over, she is delighted to write to him. In that to his mother, there are compliments on the merits and talents of her son and other marks of friendship.

We must not doubt, Sir, that this was continued in concert with Muhammad Ali Khan without the knowledge of the English. His mother, surely, only lends her name. This correspondence will not

remain at that, and it appears that he is seeking to be reconciled to the French. He is aware that the channel, measures, which he employed either at the Court of Delhi or at the Darbar of Salabat Jang, has led to the failure of all his. The present one, however indirect it may appear, may lead to a happy peace, which would render your Government memorable. Kindly let me know your views on this point, so that I should act accordingly, and allow me to observe that we can expect a happy outcome of this negotiation from this channel alone. I know the way of treating with the Mughals. There must always be mediators, and those, who have once failed, cannot be successfully brought on the scene. This correspondence, which has begun, will not be confined to mutual compliments. In his turn, Hyder Jang replies to his (of Muhammad Ali Khan) mother, in the same style as the letters which he has received, and I expect that the replies will definitely be in the form of overtures. That is a point on which I request you to give me instructions which should direct my steps. There is nothing more common in this country than to bring his bitterest enemy to his side. Besides all the daily examples in the Deccan, we have had at Pondicherry that of Murarrao and the Mysorian, and I have convincing and numerous proofs during the last six years that I govern, so to say, this nation, that a negotiation, supported by force, more often brings matters to a satisfactory conclusion than a brilliant feat of arms. Besides, whatever news which we may receive from Europe, that in question cannot be harmful.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 92, f. 166-171v^o.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang,

February 25, 1756.

Sir,

I hasten to reply to your letter of the 25th January. Your surprise on the question of the proposals which I have made to the Court of Delhi can only proceed from the fact that you are pleased to

convince yourself that I have definitely concluded arrangements with this court without your approval and consent, whilst, in fact, I took the only and efficacious means to defer the conclusion of this affair as you desire it, the detail will convince you of it. My language is not studied, but simple in its straightforwardness ; if it paints the situation as it is.

Allow me, Sir, to tell that we must first of all establish as an incontestable principle that these negotiations are carried on only by the Vakils ; the Vazir and I, we write mutually only letters of compliments, and the affairs are treated by persons who can be disowned and who are indeed disowned on both sides according as it is judged proper. The Vazir's man had driven me into a corner ; I had to treat him in the same way in my turn. And for that purpose, I made the proposal which appears to alarm you, well convinced that it cannot be accepted. I do not know what is the strength behind your motives which lead you to believe from such a distance that it will be so. As for me, I am backed by a certainty which is founded on the knowledge of the local place, the interests, the means of the monarch, the Vazir and the Mughal nobles, that the acceptance of this proposal is a chimera. It is for that reason that the negotiation remains suspended without being broken off, and it is at the same time what makes me appear so guilty in your eyes. Am I wrong in treating with the Asiatics according to the Asiatic spirit and the politics ? I cannot change their genius nor reform their way of behaving and thinking. Whatever cares I take to speak only in the name of the chief of the nation as everything is personnel in this country in which they neither know national interest nor national system, they that directly with the person whom they know and see. Therefore, M. Dupleix, who was in the know of these things, wrote to me : "Leave me to conduct the south ; I entirely abandon the north to you."

I suspect, and think that I am not mistaken, that the Vazir has today other designs on us than those which are apparent at first. That is what time will unravel.

The negotiation initiated between the Emperor and the Rajputs for Rs. 2,00,000 per day, has vanished like so many others, and with it also vanishes the acceptance fo my proposal which appeared as

plausible to you and which, however, they were never in a position to execute in its entirety, even if the Vazir had received these subsidies. Today he carries his arms elsewhere and pursues another object.

I am obliged to you, Sir, for calling me to order. My sole proceeding was and will always be exempt from contradiction and irregularity. I have several times affirmed to you that with you as well as with your predecessors, I have always paid a scrupulous attention to act only with their approval, that if this approval is to be repeated on all the occasions on which we have to take a decision immediately, the position is no longer tenable. Neither I nor others can look forward to any success, as I had already had the honour to relate it to your in my correspondence. Moreover, Sir, to confine myself to the subject which has brought on me your reprimands, I foresee too well the dilatoriness of the outcome of an engagement with the Court of Delhi to undertake it even in the slightest manner. This situation is incompatible with my desire for rest and my resolution to terminate so many awkward errands. Love of my reputation is still a powerful motive not to undertake the responsibility for such an enterprise, in which you should have waited for the development to me. Moreover, the embarrassing step, in which you judge I have entered, does not alarm me. I have several doors to get out of it and extricate myself from it. It is for me only a game; its object is to put the Court of Delhi in the interests of the nation, whilst our antagonists are endeavouring to forestall us there. I defer so exactly, Sir, to your views in spite of the humiliation to see myself suspected of the contrary, that if you had not added in your letter that we must keep this negotiation alive in an undecided state, I would have broken it off irretrievably to protect myself from the little deserved reproaches which it brings on me today. Finally, as a convincing proof that my behaviour is perfectly in keeping with my unstudied language, I attach herewith the translation of my letters written in your name to the Emperor and the Vazir, of which I expect the replies which I shall pass on to you; I sent to the former a nazar of 221 gold rupees and to the latter one of 121. You can yourself judge, Sir, if I involve the head of the nation, if I act without his approval and if I pledge myself in the least.

Translation of the letter which M. de Bussy wrote to the Great Mughal in the name of M. de Leyrit.

After the usual compliments.

M. de Bussy (Humdet-el-mulk) has informed me of his correspondence with the Great Mughal Emperor and of the alliance His Exalted Majesty has made with the French nation. Just I am the Naib, who represents the Emperor of the French in India, M. de Bussy is mine in the Deccan. I am extremely happy that the bustre of your crown should rebound on the French whom I command, through the friendship with which you honour them. Humdet-el-moulouk (M. de Bussy), who is nearer than I to your throne, receives your oracles, and after conferring with me, he will reply to your letters. The illustrious Emperor of the French will be delighted with the alliance which you kindly wish to make with his always victorious arms, and I shall exactly execute the orders which he will give me for your satisfaction and your prosperity.

To the Vazir

I have been informed by Umdal-ul-Mulk (M. de Bussy) of the intimate correspondence which you maintain with him and the intimate friendship which you feel for the French whom I command. I solicit you to always communicate your plans and your views to M. de Bussy (Umdal ul Mulk). The always victorious arms of the Emperor of the French, my master, will crown your projects with success in spite of the greatest difficulties. Humdet-el moulk and I, as well as the French, esteem your friendship much, and we shall endeavour to cultivate it, and contribute to the glory of the Empire which you govern with so much wisdom.

I refer, Sir, to the letter of the Company of which you undoubtedly know the contents. Deeply impressed with gratitude for all obliging things which it is pleased to say to me, I wish I could multiply my services, but as it is said, there is no pleasure which is not mixed with some bitterness, that I enjoy at this moment would be too perfect if it had not informed me that the reasons, which had determined me to take in my name the parvana of the four districts for the maintenance of our troops in the Deccan, have not been to its liking. It is

a misunderstanding which can arise only the fact that have I perhaps badly expressed myself. The honesty of my intentions has never suffered the least change. The conduct I have adopted since the acquisition of these districts **is an incontestable proof of it.** I am therefore, surprised that they should have laid stress on a point which provides such little matter to the reproach. The form of the Asiatic Government did not permit me to act otherwise. All the concessions and acquisitions of the Company since its establishment in India are made in the name of the person who was then in office (and who vis-a-vis the State is only an individual). Neither the Mughals nor the Indian Princes have ever treated with the nation. This term is an enigma for the Asiatics with whom everything is personal. The domains which constitute the Government of Machchalipatnam, which I obtained, were granted, some in the name of M. Dupleix, others in the name of Madame, etc. The paravana of the Four Circars, given for the salary of the army, was dispatched in the name of the person who commanded it. This proceeding is so usual with the Asiatic Government that it would be a paradox a chimera to try to make any change in it. In what respect then does it appear reprehensible in me? Did I not send this paravana like all the others to M. Dupleix who then represented the king and the nation, as you represent it today? Struck by the solid reasons which I adduced to him, he approved and authorised my management in all its details. Did I not send a copy of it to M. Moracin to act according to the orders of M. Dupleix and the instructions, I would give him? These reasons fully detailed in the *correspondence of this time, I shall retrace them here only summarily to show that my behaviour in the dispatch of the parvana does not smack of this irregularity to which they took exception in France. First of all it was absolutely necessary, to provide for the subsistence of the army, that the zamindars, palegars, amaldars, Killedars, etc., and especially the fauzdar who governed these Four Circars should know that I had over them a full authority without which I could not succeed in regulating these districts or maintaining peace there or collecting the revenues. The Supreme Council then authorised me by patents to administer this new acquisition and regularised my position with respect to my nation. This simple exposition protects me, in my opinion, against all reproach. But to prevent fresh objections, I add

that the administration of these Circars could not have the desired success in the beginning, if it had not been managed by delegation. The head of the nation in whose name the paravana might have been given, would not have proceeded to these districts. Unable to regulate them by himself, he would have appointed some other person for this mission. This delegated person would have made many unnecessary movements, the salary of the army, partly consumed by the expenses to create awe, partly in arrears, would have been totally lacking, and all the zamindars, who would have seen in me only the commander of troops to whom his salary is sent, would have attached little importance to the commander and his army. The paravana dispatched in my name has created an effect quite to the contrary, and as they expect or fear everything from the favour in which we are with the Subhedar of the Deccan, they keep themselves within limits in which they ought to be, however far we may be from the districts. That is not all, in the Empire, revenues are collected only after the harvest and the sale of the produce. During this kind of non-perception which lasts nearly for six months, we must provide for the subsistence of the army; my credit has made up for it. But this credit was founded only on the conviction in which the bankers were that the Four Circars being at my orders, the repayment of their advances was assured. If this resource in the bankers happened to fail, to what extremity are the subjects of the King exposed? Now, there is no more doubt that it would have failed during this time if the paravana of the Four Circars had been dispatched in the name of another. My correspondence offers still other motives which justify me, and those who have the knowledge of the local place, far from blaming me for it, will render me justice for employing in this case the most effective means for the welfare of the affairs and for the maintenance of the army. It is very unpleasant to work at such a great distance; want of the local knowledge, combined with national prejudice portrays the affairs in a bad light. Perhaps indeed they are not sorry to cast doubts on the merit of the services in order to be less obliged to recognise them.

Certainly, Sir, I did not expect that while asking for grades and distinctions which my long services seem to solicit for me, the seniority could be an obstacle for it or that they could have some serious scruples about violating the independence of the head of the nation

and the Supreme Council of Pondicherry, depositaries of the authority of the King and the Company.

They have already derogated in my favour from the rules of seniority by the rank of a Lieutenant. Colonel which has been conferred on me. Such a distinguished role which I play in the Mughal Empire and the services which I had the good luck to render to the nation speak so highly that there should no longer be a question of seniority between me and the other officers in India. Besides, is there anyone who can show a grade of a Captain dated from 1733 which I held in France? Moreover, it is not precisely for India that I solicit some authentic testimony from the Court and the Company which can prove that it crowns my labours with its approval. I had imagined that as my successes had been pushed much beyond the usual rules, the Company could have overlooked those which it has prescribed in the distribution of its rewards.

But would these distinctions not make the Governor-General forget what is due and would they not render him less dependent on the Supreme Council? Unmerited honours can dazzle, it is true, but those which are only the just reward for the services are incapable of changing an honest heart of which the zeal has never failed. I have been serving the Company since my tender age; I am attached to its interests which I do not lose out of sight. How would I make use of its own kindnesses against the form of its administration? The nobility of all the sentiments, which I prefer to all the honours, does not harmonise with the unworthy behaviour of a real Frenchman. Never in my greatest successes have I ignored or neglected those whom the State has given me as masters, and so long as I shall remain in its service, I shall have the same manner of thinking, even if I were made a Marshal of France. But it is not natural to think that after the actions and the services of a high order that after the rank and the honours which I received in this Empire, I shut myself up in to the narrow sphere of rotating with the soldier in India, 'where I confine myself to acquiring by seniority what I think I have deserved otherwise.

This digression has not led me to forget, Sir, the sequel of your letter. The gentlemen of Surat are not correct in their political conjectures. Balajirao has no interest to support or pursue on the side of Surat. This district, like Gujrat, concerns Damaji and Mhadba.

The disputes, which have arisen between Balajirao and Murarrao and which are supported on both sides with arms in hand, preoccupy the Nawab and the Darbar. It is only a question of deciding how to participate in it. We are approaching the two armies by daily and very painful marches.

When M. Marchand joined this army, he presented to me a letter from you, Sir, for being employed in it; he also showed me one from Messrs. Dupleix, Godeheu, Mainville in which he is described as an infantry officer. I did not know what the objection is at present, and no officer of this Army, in which there are many who have served with him at Tiruchchirappalli, has made any representation to me. Moreover, he is not associated with the others since I have given him the command of the dragoons who are with me. Whatever it may be, you have only to give orders on what concerns him; your orders will be executed.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 92, f. 171v°-174v°.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang,

May 1, 1756.

Sir,

The event which I communicate to you in this letter throws me in the greatest embarrassment; it is the death of the zamindar Apparao. Allow me to retrace for to you the origin and the progress of the affair.

Apparao, the chief zamindar of the Circar of Eluru and Mustafanagar, was arrested, as you knew it previously, by the farmer of these districts and taken as a prisoner to Machchalipatnam from

where he was transferred to Hyderabad and taken with us in the campaign. His detention had created some difficulties which the farmer of the Circars had been able to pacify only by pledging his word that he would endeavour to seek his release. This promise had suspended the troubles. He left with several persons who were relatives of the zamindar and came and joined me in the army in order to execute his promise.

However, it was equally dangerous to set the prisoner free as to detain him in chains. The zamindars would have availed themselves of the kind of obligation in which we would have been to release him in order to obtain the cessation of the movements of his ushers and parents. This weakness would have set a bad example and the authority of the Government would have suffered from this forced submission. On the other hand, all the produce of the harvest which constitutes the revenues of these districts. I mean, dependencies of the zamindar, was in sequestration as a result of the agreement made with the farmer until he had brought back Apparao as he had pledged himself to it. To refuse absolutely to release him was to loose the harvest in all the extent of the district. I had taken a middle course which saved the honour of the Government and guaranteed the revenues which were left to the discretion of the ushers; it was to send back Apparao with the farmer of Machchalipatnam where, without detaining him too closely, we would have taken the care not to let him escape. We would have settled the accounts by private contracts. The ushers, who are themselves labourers, when they should see their chief returned to the territory according to the promise given, would have allowed the produce to be taken away and sold. We would have obtained from Apparao the necessary guarantees and the securities for his dues. Having nothing more to fear after the sale of the produce, we would have captured or expelled three or four scoundrels who are the cause of the trouble, and the circumstances would have determined the detention or release of Apparao.

This expedient, which warded off all the objections and pleased all the interests, was about to be put into execution when small-pox carried off Apparao in the midst of his people. I am afraid that when this news reaches his place, it may embolden the ushers to plunder the produce. These sorts of men seek only repine, and until they have

another chief, we cannot count on anything. I wrote immediately to M. Denis so that he should give a detachment of 100 men and 200 sipahees to prevent or stop the consequences of this death, in case the naib of the farmer needed it or demanded it, and I informed him that the expenses of this detachment would be debited to the account of the Circars. I immediately dispatched the farmer Hasan Ali Khan, who has already given orders to his naib to prevent the troubles.

The remission, which I was obliged to make to him, contained in the report attached herewith, leaves a great gap, if the produce of the harvest happened to be frittered away. It would be additional embarrassments which multiply themselves in spite of the best concerned precautions and measures. But what precaution could I taken against the death of the zamindar which disturbs all my plans ?

Whatever may be my embarrassment for the subsistence of the army which cannot be reduced any more, I have made it a point of honour not to touch, as much as it is in my power to do so, the revenues of the domains of the Company. I shall, therefore, try the same resource to which I formerly had recourse. It is to engage, if I am forced to do so again, my own funds as I shall receive them. All the favour I ask from you is to hasten their payment which you have been kind enough to assure me on the revenues of Condavir. I have already taken advances from the sahuks for which I have delivered bills of exchange on M. Denis whom I have requested to assign the 'tankars' or rescriptions to whom he would judge it proper, as we had agreed with M. Moracin in consequence of your orders. Perhaps one day they will know in France that the interests of the nation and the Company are dear to me to the point of sacrificing mine to theirs. Nevertheless, I expect that that will not delay my resolution to go and seek tranquillity. And I hope that you will be kind enough to agree to the proposal which I have to make to you for the greatest weal of the general affairs and mine. It is to assure me in the name of the Company the advances which I may have to make of the funds which you have assigned to me on the district of Condavir, and kindly furnish me, for the month of October, with the bills of exchange for the amount of the said advances of which I shall send you the statement. I ask of you this favour, because the persons who are charged with my affairs, are asking for funds from

me without delay. Moreover, you should not doubt, Sir, that I pay all the attention, of which I am capable, to avoid, if it is possible to come to this expedient, if I am forced to do so. It will only be after exhausting resources with the Darbar or elsewhere.

I confess to you, Sir, that one can hardly lead a more unpleasant life in all respects than mine. I am almost overwhelmed by the difficulties and the embarrassments of every kind which arise at every step. I shall go on as long as I can. But I am afraid I may succumb in the end.

I remain, etc.

The year one thousand seven hundred fifty-six, the sixth day of February, we, the undersigned, commissary, Captains, infantry officers, major and almoner of the army of the Deccan, certify that on the representations made to M. de Bussy, Commander of the said army by Hasan Ali Khan, farmer of the Circars of Eluru and Mustafanagar that the drought of the present year, one thousand seven hundred fifty-six, had caused a heavy loss to the harvest of rice of these two circars which statement, after the examination made on the spot by experts set up for this purpose, was found to be true and conformable to the report made to the said M. de Bussy by the farmers and certified by the extract of a letter from M. Moracin, commandant of Machchalipatnam, to M. de Bussy, and which we found conformable to the original. The report is as follows :

"The paragona of Jally, one of the four of Charmal, has experienced a drought which has not been seen within the memory of man ; it produces nothing but rice, and there has not been a drop of water ; I had farmed it for nine thousand pagodas. The farmer rightly desists from it, and I shall not draw five hundred pagodas from it. Two other paraganas, which likewise produce rice, will sustain a similar loss." On this authority, combined with the reports specified above, and after the most examination, we found that the loss of this harvest amounted to two hundred fifty thousand rupees, of which sum M. de Bussy is obliged to make a remission to the said Hasan Ali Khan on the revenues of the farmings of Eluru and Mustafanagar as hereinafter. During the present year a remission of

hundred thousand rupees ; during the next year another of the same sum, and a remission of fifty thousand rupees for 'nazar' which usually formed part the aggregate ; fifty thousand rupees to be set aside from this year for the next one. In testimony of which we have signed on the above mentioned day and year. Signed Riboux, Paris, de Brandt, Montagnier de la Roque and de Montjustin, Jesuit. True copy signed : de Bussy.

C^o 92, f. 174v^o-176.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
March 5, 1756.

Sir,

You must have seen from my previous letter, of which herewith is attached the duplicate, how the gap due to the remissions, which I have been obliged to make to Hasan Ali Khan, will embarrass me, because I would absolutely wish, as I have pointed it out to you, that this army was not a burden on the domains of the Company. However, I can say it, any other in my place would not find any resource on this occasion, and he would necessarily have had recourse to the revenues of Machchalipatnam to fill the gap. But my credit furnishes me with the means not to occasion fresh expenses for the Company. Some bankers have promised me that so far as the salary of our sipahees is concerned, they would advance me sufficient money to meet it fully by giving them rescriptions on Srikakulam at $\frac{1}{2}\%$ per month until full payment. This resource came quite, opportunely, for, I did not know which way to turn. That will not reduce at all the revenues of this district for the next year because of my arrangements when I gave the farming. It ought to augment by a lakh and a half in 1757.

Having in view the liquidation of the debts of the Deccan, and to give to the Company as soon as possible the evidence of the advantages of its concessions in the north. I was seeking the means

to pay off Rs. 1,35,000 still due. A circumstance officers it to me at a time when I expected it the least. It is a rivalry between Faye Boula Khan and Dergar Couli Khan¹ for the Government of Barhanpur. The latter is the person who lent me or had it lent to me the above-mentioned sum, and who quietly waited for the repayment. Today he reminds me of the service he had rendered me. He expects from my gratitude and that of the nation that I should serve him in my turn in the matter in question and promises me the discharge of Rs.1,35,000, if this matter turns to his advantage. I am occupied with it, and I soon hope to inform you that we no longer owe anything in the Deccan, that we can quit when we wish with honour and follow the decision which will be taken in Europe on the affairs of India.

I have only to collect this year my advances from the revenues of Condavir, as you have been kind enough to inform me. M. Denis writes to me by a letter, dated the 16th February that M. de Moracin was empowered to pay me only three and a half lakhs, and that he cannot exceed this sum without your orders. I hope, Sir, that you will have consideration for the balance of this sum, of which I sent you the statement, and of which M. de Moracin did not know before his departure. I have furnished the sahuks with rescriptions for the payments on account which they gave me and which they will give me when these rescriptions are accepted. But, if the needs of Machchalipatnam permitted only the payment of the earlier sum, you must except from my zeal for the interests of the Company that I shall always submit very exactly to your arrangements and I shall agree, if it was necessary, to a delay for this balance which constitutes my salary and my expenses.

Allow me, Sir, to remind you of what still remains due to me by the treasury of Machchalipatnam and of which M. de Moracin has taken away with him the rescription on the Supreme Council, as he writes to me while assuring me that he would request you to furnish me a bill of exchange on the Company. I hope that you will kindly agree to this arrangement and render me this service. If some circumstance came in the way, you will kindly give your orders to M. Denis

¹ Dargah Quli Khan.

so that this sum should be paid to me as early as possible as M. de Moracin promised it to me.

We would have to make some arrangement to put ourselves a little more at ease subsequently, as you have pointed it out to me, Sir, The salaries of the staff are very high. It is in their reduction that we could find a resource in case of need. It is only a question of regulating everything in the following manner :

Namely

The Captain per month	...	...	Rs. 500.
The Lieutenant per month	...	...	Rs. 400.
The Sub-Lieutenant per month	...	...	Rs. 350.
The Ensign per month.	...	...	Rs. 300.

It is not possible to make any further reduction in these salaries which are at par with their expenses.

I rightly realise that it is not the way to woo military officers. I am even mortified to come to this expedient. But I have always known how to prefer the general weal to the individual. See, Sir, what is advisable to be done on this subject.

When we undertook this expedition, hardly did we find twelve officers to compose the staff of the detachment. We had even to engage those who offered their services by demanding very high salaries and rewards. This matter then concerned more the Mughal nation than ours, but today it concerns the welfare of the State and the Company.

C⁹², f. 176-177v²

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
March 10, 1756.

Sir,

Although we are marching everyday, we are still nearly 80 koss. from the two Maratha armies. There is no doubt that when these big armies will face each other, many incidents will occur making the matters very intricate. It is a labyrinth of mixed, opposite and personal

interests which time will clear up. I cannot give you a detail of the views and the designs of the Darbar and of the measures which it takes for their realization. The scene is so moving that it daily offers a new aspect. There is no one who has no reasons of personal interests to favour one party and harm the other; these moves are carried out by underhand cabals and intrigues which baffle the best measures. In addition, in both the Maratha and Mughal armies, there are chiefs totally opposed to the masters whom they serve.

The respective claims of the two rival Marathas are too antagonistic to be easily reconciled. Here is in short the cause of their dispute.

Shahu Raja, King of the Marathas and Sambhaji Raja were brothers¹; they shared between them the Chauthai of the Deccan. The south of the Krishna falls to the share of Sambhaji Raja and the north to Shahu Raja. The latter, a very kind man and who loved peace, formed his right of Chauthai to Balajirao and Sambhaji to Murarrao, each in their district according to the division of the south and the north of the Krishna.

After the death of Shahu Raja, Balajirao seized all the authority, placed Ram Raja on the throne at Satara to live there as a prisoner. After taking measure and quite assured, not thinking that among the Marathas, anyone would venture to oppose his will, he sent his brother² in the Carnatic, that is to say, beyond the Krishna to collect the Chauthai. Murarrao, who had become powerful and who was shocked by this assault, today demands from Balajirao explanations by representing to him that he has no right to receive any tribute from territories to the south of the Krishna which was the portion allotted to Sambhaji. Balajirao haughtily replies that since the death of Shahu Raja, he was charged with the government by the nation and that in virtue of this unlimited authority, he, Murarrao was at his orders. The latter little intimidated by this beginning, replies that he is in the service of Sambhaji who authorized him to collect the Chauthai from territories to the south of the river and that he has nothing to do with Balajirao or receive orders from him. Balajirao supports to his arguments with the authority of the emperor who has assigned to

1. Cousins.

2. Cousin, Sadashivrao Bhau.

him, he asserts, the provinces of the south which belongs to the Pathans. Murarrao does not believe anything of it, or does not bother about it. This is the cause of the war which they are making with each other and in which the whole Deccan participates because of personal interests.

There were some parleys of peace of which here are the conditions :—

Balajirao requires that he should be recognised as master and commander-in-chief of the Maratha nation, that the Chauthai of the Carnatic should be given to him exclusively of any other person, that all that he has collected from the Pathans remains with him and that Muzaffar Khan be surrendered to him. All that was rejected without asking for any modification. I must observe that there are in the army of Balajirao many sardars of distinction who are inclined in favour of Murarrao. Generally speaking the Maratha caste is opposed to Balajirao who a Brahmin. This faction is supported by Satara.

From this pattern, it is easy to imagine the difficult to examine the claims, so contrary and supported on both sides with force and distynacy. As this issue develops and as soon as it takes a fixed turn, I shall inform you about it.

I remain, etc.

C² 92, f. 177v^o-178.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
March 19, 1756.

Sir,

At last we are quitting the southern bank of the Krishna where the delivery of the Nawab's wife, who gave him a son, had detained us for some days. There have been rejoicings; those, which you would make, will flatter him much. He informs you of it by a letter attached herewith.

This time was spent in counsels in which the different decisions and plans, which were taken, were changed every day. However, they have finally decided to support Balajirao whose army has considerably augmented. Every day it has skirmishes with that of the Pathans, which do not decide anything. There are so many interests to be reconciled that the Darbar will still change several times its plans before approaching sufficiently closely the Maratha armies to take a final decision. It is a labyrinth which I shall communicate to you as the issues develop themselves.

The Vazir, who was marching towards Lahore with two Shahjadas, retraced his steps. It is reported that the march of Ahmed Abdali, who is advancing towards this town, is the cause of it. I am expecting a courier from the Vazir which he has dispatched to me on the 5th of the Moon of Jama-dilawal. I shall immediately inform you about anything that is new on the subject. The Emperor is at Delhi absolutely lacking the sinews necessary to act.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

P.S. The Nawab's letter, which I announced to you above, will leave, Sir, with the duplicate of this letter.

C² 92, f. 178-180v^o.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
March 28, 1756.

Sir,

I steal a moment from the fatigues with which I am almost overwhelmed and the strange embarrassment, in which I am, to communicate to you in brief my situation and that of our army and of that which I am going to join.

The perplexity of the Darbar on the decision it should take either to approach the Marathas or fall back on Adoni, held the operation suspended for a long time. If my advice had been followed, we would

have found the means to conciliate everything. But Shah Nawaz Khan, completely won over by the Vakil of Balajirao, has totally abandoned Murarrao whose Vakil he has dismissed but whom I gave shelter, as I have written to you previously. However, today he would like to placate the two parties. But all the difficulties, which had arisen and which were likely to stop our march, were lifted by Balajirao to whom Shah Nawaz Khan pointed out that in spite of the sufficiently great difficulties and the affairs which called him elsewhere, he continued to march, but that he was afraid that I would prevent him from crossing the river Tungabhadra. Other persons sent word to Murarrao that they never intended to assist his enemy but that we alone were the cause of it. This intrigue appeared to have the effect which was expected from it and which was to alienate us from the two sides and in case events turned away the march of the army, to impress upon Murarrao that (Shah Nawaz Khan) had not offered any assistance to his adversary, which fact would render him (Murarrao) very difficult on the matter which I am trying to conclude with him, and on the other hand, give Balajirao to understand that we alone prevented the succour which he wished to bring him.

I cleared up this labyrinth when we were at a day's distance from the Tungabhadra. After spending the night in consulting some noblemen who are attached to me, I took the decision which thwarted the whole intrigue, and sent word to the perpetrators that I knew about it at least as much as they. On the day of our arrival on the bank of the river, I camped on the southern bank after a march of 9 koss, and dispatched a dromedary to Balajirao to inform him of this event which expressed my eagerness to join him. You will certainly notice, Sir, the two motives which led me to take this step.

1. If the Darbar really decided to assist Balajirao, my measure would destroy the impression which were given to him that we wanted to oppose it.

2. If, on the contrary, the circumstances had caused the Mughals to take a different route, I threw back on the Darbar all the blame it expected to lay at my door. I also wrote to Balajirao that I counted on the word he had given me that in either case of peace or war, our interests would coincide with his.

It is indeed, Sir, just a sample of the labyrinth of the intrigues and treacheries, which are going to make head. The Darbar, in spite of the murmurs of the army which is in a sufficiently great dearth of money, continues its route, and we are going to lay siege to Savnur where Murarrao has shut himself up with the Pathans' and Muzaffar Khan. Balajirao needs the Mughal army there only on account of us, as he has declared it openly. Except for the canons, he is in a position to dictate. The Darbar came to this decision for the reasons which I have detailed to you in my letters dated the 28th January and 6th February, and profit by the occasion to recall the Pathans to their duty, who, since the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, have not sent, either money or troops to the subhedar of the Deccan and who consider themselves as independent. Salabat Jang, besides the motives of the Darbar which are his, has personal ones to win over Balajirao to his side and fortify himself against the Court of Delhi, because recently an imprudence or his part and an obstinacy, which I could not vanquish, has alienated the Vazir, his nephew from him. This is how;

Nazir Jang, at the time of his death, left a daughter 6 to 7 years old who was betrothed to Ghazi-ud-din, junior, today Vazir. The ceremony of giving the ring, which renders the engagement indissoluble among this nation, had been performed by an agent. Without bothering about it, and in spite of all my representations, Salabat Jang, gave this girl in marriage to Abdulad Khan¹ brother-in-law of Muzaffar Jang. It is among the Mughals the sorest affront which they can receive, and for the vengeance of which they sacrifice everything. However, I shall do my best to prevent the consequences to which this event might give rise.

I come back to my present situation. I do not and cannot know who are my friends or enemies. The Darbar has its interests, as I have said it, Salabat Jang his own, I have mine (I mean those of the nation) and Shah Nawaz Khan is not neutral. The three principal Maratha jahgirdars in the service of Salabat Jang, Janoji, Sultanji and Ramchandrarao are secretly on the side of Murarrao. The Pathans, also jahgirdars of the Nawab, favour likewise that of Savnur. Mir

1. Abdul Hadi Khan.

Muhammad Hussein Khan is totally on the side of Balajirao whose army today is composed of about 80,000 cavalry, and of which the majority of the chiefs of the Maratha caste do not desire the ruin of Murarrao. Especially Holkar, who is at the head of this party, in order to bring about the defeat of Balajirao and tarnish his reputation, solicits me, through a Vakil who is here *incognito*, to treat kindly and save Murarrao. However, this same Holkar, along with his supporters, fights like a demon and has had several advantages over Murarrao, who, in spite of his tight situation, still does not make any overture for the waiver which I am pursuing.

It is not the complete siege of Savnur which has begun. We must reduce the place, without which we shall dishonour ourselves. By serving Balajirao well, Holkar and his supporters, those in the Maratha army as well as those in the Mughal army, might do us an ill turn. If we placate Murarrao to please Holkar, and his supporters, Balajirao can suspect the intrigue and will set us against those very persons whose secret plans we shall favour. If we given him victory, what use will he make of it? and howfar will the chiefs of his army carry their resentment? On the contrary, if his enterprise happens to fall, what vengeance will he draw from it? This is, Sir, the specimen of the embarrassments in which I am. I am employing all that prudence and experience suggested to me to render the circumstances less embarrassing to give to this inevitable enterprise a favourable turn and to placate the interests of the nation and preserve its glory. God will do the rest.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 92, f. 125v*-131.

Pondicherry, April 22, 1756.

Sir,

I received your letters of the 13th and 25th February, of the 1st, 5th, 10th, 19th and 28th ultimo. Several preoccupations followed and preceded by my visit to Ginji prevented me from replying to them earlier; I am doing it today by taking your letters in order of dates.

I am delighted to see, from what you write to me, the dispositions, favourable to the nation, in which you maintain the Emporor, the Vazir and the Bakshi. I cannot but exhort you to cultivate them and continue with this Court a correspondence which can only be honourable to us and place you in a great consideration in the Empire. Moreover, we can turn it account in the critical circumstances in which we are likely to be, as I shall tell you hereinafter.

Do not think, Sir, that we made a deliberate choice of all the bad subjects of the garrison when we selected the last detachment which was sent to you. It is true that it was compose partly of troops freshly landed. But you should not be surprised, if you would indeed take into consideration the fact that we no longer have old soldiers or very few, as they have all died as prisoners of the English. We have very few today who have seen firing.

I am very much grieved, I assure you, to hear that the spirit of desertion has seized your troops. I am indeed afraid that I do not have the same facility as I had last year to recruit your army which would, however, need it every year from what I see. It is good that you set examples capable of restraining this soldiery and repressing the disorders and the excesses to which it is prone. It is not entirely the fault of the Company if our garrisons are composed of so many bad subjects. We have received a report that it was obliged to seek recruits made from Bicetre¹ and the houses of correction. We have a fair number of soldiers of this type.

1. A mental hospital in Paris.

It is good that Hyder Jang has replied to the letters of the mother of Muhammad Ali Khan to him as well as to his mother. The possibility is that Muhammad Ali Khan may have different ideas by starting this correspondence. Perhaps he is thinking of a reconciliation with us ; perhaps he is also seeking to bribe Hyder Jang. You are on the spot and in a better position than I to judge the steps of both. If they were frank and sincere on the part of Muhammad Ali Khan, I realise how we can bring them to a happy conclusion for the resolution of our affairs.

You have been very sensitive to the reproaches which escaped from my pen on the question of the proposals which you suggested to the Court of Delhi for the succour it is demanding. Why did you not explain yourself first as you do it by your letter, dated the 25th February ? I was afraid that you might have engaged yourself without my participation. But my confidence in you reassured me about the results. I have much in all that you have done so far and I have no reason to complain of it, quite on the contrary. But as an engagement with the Court of Delhi could have serious consequences and as it did not appear consistent with the arrangements made in these parts, it is not surprising that I expressed to you some anxiety on this occasion.

It is advisable today more than ever to maintain this negotiation. I have informed you of the Vazir's letter to me and the reply I have give him. Do you think that the letter, which you have addressed to him in my name as also to the Emperor and that the nazar which was presented to him on my behalf, will dispense me with the presents which I proposed to send him, as I have written it to you ? I think that that ought to depend today on the circumstances.

I am delighted that you have reason to be satisfied with the letter which you have received from the Company. All the obligation it expresses to you for the services you have rendered in the Deccan is a proof that it does you all the justice which you deserve, and that if it did not approve of the reasons which led you to take the paravana for the districts under mortgage in your name, it undoubtedly thought that it could not do so without detracting from the possitive orders which it has given in consequence of the King's ordinances which it

cites to you. It is in reality convinced of the honesty of your intentions, and this reproach falls only on the form which appeared to it irregular because it has no very precise idea of Asiatic Government. It would be useless today to obtain another *parvana*, and the principal point is to govern these districts well and administer properly the revenues assigned to the expenses of your army, and as I know that it is to what you are paying all your attention, there is nothing more to be desired for the present.

You should not doubt that your services are not recognised. It is a confidence which they ought to inspire in us. I have already written to you that I had given an account of them to the Company and to the Ministers through all the letters which I have written to them. If my testimony, supported by that of M. Godeheu and M. Dupleix, could be of some weight, I would be very flattered if I could contribute in some way to procure for you on this point the satisfaction which you have reason to expect. Besides, I believe that you are incapable of glorying in your promotion in a manner contrary to the intentions of the Company and the form of its administration. On the contrary, I am convinced of the good use you would make of it for the welfare and the advantage of its service and affairs which are entrusted to you.

M. Boucard continues to complain about the Governor of Surat who has lodged legal proceedings, Rs. 37,000 on the sums which they owe. I cannot but request you to support him as much as you can with your credit to oblige the Governor of Surat to return this sum.

The officers of this garrison came in a body to make their representations to me on the grade you have granted to M. Marchand. I could not dispense with writing to you (about it). They have not spoken to me about it since.

You must have come to know today that the death of Apparao did not have the consequences which you feared. One Jucaya, heir to his titles and property, has submitted. I have written to M. Denis on this asking him to wait for Hassan Ali Khan who has returned to your camp, to act consistently with the orders which you would judge it proper to give to the latter.

The necessity in which you have been to grant to Hassan Ali Khan a remission of Rs. 2,50,000 on the revenues of Elluru and Mustafanagar is a very unfortunate circumstance. I prefer much, Sir, that you drew rescriptions on the Council of Machchalipatnam in order to fill in the vacuum which this indemnity will create for you, to furnishing you, as you are asking me, with bills of exchange on the Company for the amount of the advances which you are ready to make up for the deficiency. It is advisable that you should remit here the funds for the bills of exchange which you ask from me, just as you did last year. Moreover, you have nothing to fear for the advances which you might make, and I think I can assure you their repayment without compromising me.

I realise the embarrassment of all kinds in which you are. But I hope that you will come out of them with the same success which you have had to extricate yourself from all those by which you have passed so far, and I have only to wish you the necessary strength and health for that purpose.

If, by your credit with the sahkars, you find enough to fill the vacuum which the indemnity granted to Hassan Ali Khan has created for you, by giving them, as you write to me, rescriptions on Srikakulam, this arrangement would be still much better than to draw on the domains of the Company at Machchalipatnam, and I wish it can materialise. It is similarly desirable that you should obtain for Bergue Quli Khan¹ the Government of Barhanpur, to secure which he seeks your support by promising to give you a receipt for Rs. 1,35,000 which the Company owes him. It would be an affair advantageous to the Company, and the success of which would do your honour in all respects. I shall be pleased to hear about its conclusion.

M. Moracin expects to return to Machchalipatnam shortly. You can make arrangements with him for the amount of the rescriptions which you may have to draw on him for the account which is due to you and even for the entire sum if it is possible to pay it to you. The Company does not receive a farthing from all the possessions, it has in the north. When the expenses are deducted from the revenues,

1. Dargah Quli Khan.

the balance is reserved either for the payment of the debts or for the expenses of your army. This is the arrangement in which I propose to confine myself in order to be able to support the establishments on the Ganges and the Malabar Coast with the funds which the Company will send me. In Bengal, it owes more than 30 lakhs of rupees carrying 9% and 12% interest per year. Judge, Sir, if I need funds to meet the engagements in a country especially in which the Mughals keep the European nations in a harsh dependence.

It is certain that the salaries of your army on the footing on which they are today form the largest item of your expenses and, in my opinion, takes away the fourth of your revenues. If you can reduce them, as you propose it to me, you will feel very much relieved by it. This reduction alone will fill a large part of the vacuum which the indemnity granted to Hassan Ali Khan creates for you. Do it, Sir, without hesitation if you do not find any inconvenience in it.

I have carefully read the detail which you give me on the question of the differences which have occasioned the war today between Balajirao and Murarrao. It appears, from all that you write to me, that the forces of the former have imposed on the Darbar of Salabat Jang which was obliged to take its decision to come to an agreement in its turn, for there is no doubt that it is behaving in this case against its interests, and that it would have been more advisable to support Murarrao, the only person who was in a position to create a diversion against the forces of Bauajirao whose power can augment only to the prejudice of Salabat Jang.

In such a circumstance, I cannot but approve of your resolution to dispatch a dromedary to Balajirao to offer him succour and I appreciate much the reasons which urged you to do so. In the different parties which divide the army of Salabat Jang and that of Balajirao, you will find resources and issues which might procure you the means of being useful to Murarrao, if you judge it proper, which, in my opinion, would be desirable at any rate, and especially to obtain the waiver of what we owe to him.

In an affair of this kind in which, as you say, a labyrinth of intrigues and treacheries will make head, I am grieved to see Shah Nawaz

Khan estranged from you and differing from you. Was I mistaken in attributing his change to the jealousy which he has conceived against Hyder Jang? May you extricate yourself successfully from this confusion which does not appear to me easy to clear up. If the circumstances force you to lay siege to Savnur, the capture of this place will assuredly be followed by the defeat of Murarrao. Salabat Jang will force, as he wishes it, the Pathans to return to their duty. But will this advantage not be much balanced by the anxieties which he ought to naturally conceive of the increase of power of Balajirao, the effect of whose superiority he already feels? What could be his politics in giving in marriage to Abdul Hadi Khan his young sister, betrothed during the lifetime of Nazir Jang to the Vazir, his nephew, who deserved the preference by all sorts of reasons? It appears to me that he has been very badly advised. Was it not better to secure the friendship of his nephew than be reduced to have recourse to Balajirao, his enemy, to protect himself from the resentment which the Vazir ought naturally to feel at the affront which he has just hurled at him? I wish you could prevent the consequences to which this event may give rise.

I announced the birth of the Nawab's son to the town with three salutes of 21 guns.

The Company has dispatched to us the frigate *la Gloire* which anchored in this roadstead on the 9th instant to give us advice that the disputes which exist between France and England appear to threaten Europe with a renewal of war. Some acts of hostilities have even been already committed. The ships *L Alcide*, armed on a war-footing and *Le Lys*, which were carrying 320 troops, were attacked off the Banks of New Foundland by an English fleet and were captured. There is a report that we have also captured some English ships.

We cannot yet be certain of the consequences which these hostilities might have. But hope has not been lost that they might get succeed in a settlement between these two powers. Whatever it may be, the Company has given me the order to keep myself on my guard and be ready for the war. It particularly recommends me to pay my attention to the preservation of Machchalipatnam.

As this place is stripped of men and as I am not for the present in a position to send some there, it is important, Sir, that you should promptly terminate the affairs of Salabat Jang in the south and approach our domains before the English are able to move there and make some attempts against it. Your army must constitute its security. Their squadron on the Malabar Coast will return here in the course of the next month.

Messrs. Godeheu and Dupleix have reached France safely. If we have to judge from the letter which the latter has written to his attorneys, he appears to be very happy. The negotiation which has been dragging on for a such long time between the Company of France and that of England was suspended, and there was yet nothing settled. The frigate La Gloire left Lorient in the beginning of the month of September. It was M. Roth, at present a Director of the Company, who commanded it.

I send you herewith a copy of a petition which was addressed to Mr. Pigot by the supercargo of the English ship which perished on the coast of Srikakulam, and on the contents of which Mr. Pigot asks satisfaction from me, as you will see it from his letter similarly attached herewith. I request you, Sir, to seek information on the facts which are stated in it. The veracity of some has been confirmed by a French officer who is at present at Pondicherry and who was then on the spot. This officer assured me that he had himself seen being sold in the bazars the goods issuing from this English ship which Ibrahim Khan or his brother had seized. If I am to believe the report which he has given me, these two men commit many vexations in this part. But I suppose that if all that he has stated to me was true, you would be informed of it and you would set order in it.

I have the honour, etc.

C^a 92, f. 180v^o-186.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
April 24,¹ 1756.

Sir,

I received your letter of the 9th March. In the labyrinth of affairs in which I find myself actually, I have just the time to touch the items which, in my opinion, require it.

I begin, Sir, by thanking you for the important service which you were pleased to render me by sending my funds to France in a manner as safe as gracious on your part. I confess to you I never thought of asking from M. Dupleix bills of exchange on the Company. I relied, on the repeated assurances which he had given me to send my funds to M. de Bacquencourt, his nephew, for the purchase of an estate with which I had charged him. But unfortunately for me, the advances which he had been obliged to make for his uncle, absorbed everything, so that not only did a very large sum not bring me any interest for six years, but I also run great risks for the capital. However, I think that the Company is too just not enter into a dispute which would take away the major part of my fortune, especially, if it makes reflection that there would have been few Frenchmen in India who, after acquiring in a short time a brilliant fortune, would have advanced it for the good of the State affairs and would have added to his early labours six or seven years of his youth which might indeed be lost, since the Company (which writes to me, it is true, in a very satisfying manner) nevertheless, brings to my notice two points which are more than capable to abate the zeal of someone who would not be as imbued as I am with the welfare of his nation.

By the first, it closes for me in some way the door of promotion by pointing out to me that the highest grade in India is that of a Lieutenant-Colonel.

The second is the seniority of service, which point is not at all well-founded, since, as I have already communicated it to you, it has derogated from it, and the Supreme Council delivered to me a patent

1. April 4.

in 1751 which authorises me to command, whenever I shall be, all the officers of whatever rank and seniority they may be. That, with which it has also honoured me to govern the four districts under mortgage, give a superabundance of right which speaks in my favour.

You will admit, Sir, that if the Company judges it proper for the welfare of the State affairs, that I should continue to remain in charge of its interests, that mine are hardly compatible with its, and that it would be very disgraceful for me to appear in France with a sufficiently brilliant fortune but which would be accompanied with the rank of an ex-Lieutenant-Colonel of India at an age when I would no longer be in a position to acquire other enhancements, at any rate, in the military career. If this year leaves me in the same position in this respect, I cannot but think legitimately of retiring.

I shall no more speak to you of the paravana of the Four Circars about which the Company also seems to be concerned. I think that you must have grasped the force of the reasons which guided me, to which I add the provisions of the Supreme Council, to demand first a clerk, then a counsellor to administer the finances of this army in the capacity of a commissary, and give the command of the district of Rajahmundry to another counsellor; the two other districts are administered by Machchalipatnam, and finally the conduct which I adopt, all these points are more than sufficient for my justification. It is not necessary to treat this matter at greater length.

If the Viceroy of Goa had the intention to furnish Angre with succour, I have strong reasons to believe that he did not execute it. You know that the English have employed their forces against the latter from whom they seized four citadels of which they kept the strongest against their agreement and promise with Balajirao who is annoyed at it to such a point that that might occasion some alteration in their alliance.

As for the idea which Salabat Jang and the Darbar have formed of the conditional treaty of which there is no doubt that they had a copy, not only had the English sent them to the Mughals but to all their factories so that they have been distributed to all the individuals. M. Panon, chief at Narsapur, showed one to Rev. Father Monjustin, which was sent to him by M. chief at Bander-moulanka. All

that combined with the detrimental suspicions which they have formed about what they do not know, is a prejudice very strong and difficult to destroy. The attitude of strange submission, which was displayed before your arrival at Pondicherry, has not a little justified their suspicion. If the treaty takes place and if it must be executed, will those, who have so much worked to acquire (the present position), be charged with it? Yesterday we received harkaras from Murtaza Ali Khan, bearers of letters for Salabat Jang and for me, to whom he has narrated the retreat of the English whose enterprises were stopped by the march of our troops. Your manoeuvre, Sir, has created here the best effect in the world.

If only you know the Asiatic genius, you will not be surprised if the palegars did not have recourse to you, either as an ally or as a neutral power. These people direct their measures only inasmuch as they have to fear or hope from a nation.

Our credit at the Court of Delhi cannot but be sustained by the same means which I have employed to get recognition for us there and gain an ascendancy over our rivals.

Assuredly, they will not hesitate to give troops to the Vazir without breaking their alliance with the Marathas on the side of Bombay. In this country, one can be an ally of two opposite powers. One supports different interests in different places. Balajirao's army is full of Mughal noblemen whose fathers, brothers nephews are in that of Salabat Jang who himself has many Marathas in his service. All these contradictions, which shock in Europe where they are not pushed so far, do not surprise anyone in Asia.

The variations in the conduct of Shah Nawaz Khan are also not surprising, when it is recognised as an unquestionable principle that the incentive to all the measures and the motive behind every utterance and action, is personal interest. This interest has a close connection with the circumstances which change and whose diversity also causes the sentiments to change. Do me the favour to believe that after remaining for six years in the midst of all these Asiatics, after conducting their general affairs with them, entering in the private ones and even family affairs, do me the favour, I repeat, to believe that I know how to turn everything to the best account. There is nothing more

ridiculous and more false than the fiction which was related to you and which was supposed to have occasioned a dispute between Shah Nawaz Khan and Hyder Jang. It is one of these fictions which magnify the objects in order to create a false impression. The small incident of the palanquin on which this fiction is based, was never called 'Takht' which precisely signifies the throne of the Emperor. But 'palkhi' is nothing else than a small palanquin, shortened by a super added arch, which is used not on days of ceremony, as says the narrator but to go and return in the evening from a garden without a retinue, without a paraphernalia and undressed, to pass from one part of the dwelling to another or to go and meet some friends incognito, etc. Almost all the Mughal noblemen possess this kind of carriage, and one is not more curious to see a man in this carriage than one is in Paris to see one in a hackney carriage. What crowns the ignorance and wickedness of those who gave you this report, is the proceeding, they say, of obtaining by surprise the permission from Salabat Jang to use this carriage. If it was a prerogative, a title, a distinction, etc., it would be given by the Subhedar in a public Darbar in which the Baxi of the Emperor announces in a loud voice the title and the person who is decorated with it. This ceremony, quite public as it is, is still not sufficient; the Divan of the Emperor must keep the document in the daftars of which the original is sent to the Court of Delhi to obtain its ratification. How can surprise have any place in this proceeding? The surprise that was caused to me is the reward which Hyder Jang has asked from you for the services which he has rendered so far. Not only does this young man communicate to me the letters which he writes on all sides, but even keeps copies of them. After sifting that which he wrote to you, there was not a single word which was susceptible of the interpretation which was given to you and which he would like to attribute to ignorance rather than to malice of your interpreters. That grieved him much, quite devoted as he is to the nation and to me. Asiatic pride, which is natural to him, is inconsistent with this demand. I have obtained for him all the titles and grades with which a man of his rank can be decorated. He is satisfied with them. Moreover, he knows sufficiently the state of our affairs to understand that a reward is only a trifle which he does not need. Sir. I solicit you for the welfare of the affairs to send me the letters

which you will write to Balajirao and elsewhere so that we could adopt a uniform language with this cunning Maratha. As I know the Urdu as well as a little Persian, it is hardly possible to deceive me.

Please, Sir, set your mind at rest about the changes in the ministry and the Court of the Nawab. It is a necessity in this country, and that is precisely the origin of the credit and authority which I enjoy there. There is no reason at all to fear that the changes in the Darbar (I am very happy that they are attributed to me) will weaken its authority. If I am no longer considered to be in a position to dictate to it, it will do it to me and the underhand intrigues of our rivals will have their effect. It will be through fear and not at all through persuasion that I shall support the affairs.

My authority, solidly established on the ascendancy which I have, has been the cause of all my successes. There is no middle course; one must dominate the Asiatic to win his esteem and create fear in him, or be dominated and at the same time despised.

I was delighted to see at the end of your letter the moves you made with our troops. I have pointed out to you above the good effect which this manoeuvre created here. You have combined firmness with prudence in a circumstance all the more critical as the English would have continued to avail themselves of the advantages with which the state of uncertainty, in which the affairs are, furnishes them, and which would have discredited, and dishonoured the nation, but for the obstacles which you raised against them.

I see, Sir, that you could not do more for my interests. I am very sincerely grateful to you for all your cares. As for your kindness in wishing that the sums which are due to me at Machchalipatnam should be promptly returned to me, no one better than you can contribute to my happiness. Please give orders, and I hope that my wishes will soon be granted.

M. de Noronha had actually gone to Goa to solicit the succour for Murarrao. But he returned empty handed and is at present shut up in the fortress of Bankapur, 12 km. away from Savnur. He had not been to Kittur, residence of a Raja called Irappa, situated half way between Savnur and the territory of Phonda.

I must now, Sir, communicate to you our actual situation. The pompous display by Balajirao of his advantages over Murarrao is quite in the Asiatic style, that is to say, wind and smoke. Three months back the Pathans stopped him before Savnur where we have at last arrived.

Since the old Mubaresdan¹ who lost with his life the general government of the Deccan in a battle which he fought with Nizam-ul-Mulk in the plain of Chakerquere² near Aurangabad, since this revolution, I repeat, in which Balajirao the father³ had a big share, one had never seen the two Mughal and Maratha powers united. You have seen, Sir, from my last letter, of which herewith is the duplicate, which continue to be the same(?)⁴.

On the 5th instant I had an interview with Balajirao who received me at 8 km. from his camp. I was accompanied by Shah Nawaz Khan, Hyder Jang, Sadulla Khan and some other noblemen. I spare you the detail of the ceremonial which lasted from 7 o'clock in the morning to 10 o'clock at night. The Maratha army forms about 20 camps which compose of about 70,000 to 80,000 cavalry. The chiefs are Madhoba (his brother), Holkar, Fatteh Sing, the son of Raghuji Bhonsle, Damaji, etc. They have set up batteries which so far have made very little effect on the besieged town after three months of proceedings.

The Pathans are quite prepared for a long defence. The town encloses about 38,000 men.

Namely,

- 200 Europeans,
- 8,000 Pathans,
- 10,000 Marathas,
- 5,000 Sipahs,
- 2,000 Sipahs of Muzaffar Khan,
- 12,000 native soldiers of several Rajas and pategars.

1. Mubarez Khan.

2. Sakharhede.

3. *Vide* Note on p.

4. Some words are missing.

On the 7th I accompanied the Nawab to a tent set up half way between the two armies where Balajirao proceeded. The latter pays me a visit today the 11th in a tent which I have set up for this purpose at an equal distance.

I cannot tell you the result of all these proceedings. My attention in these, delicate and embarrassing circumstances will be not to alienate Balajirao, and on the other hand, derive advantages which we can.

From letters received from Surat, I learn that the Dutch are making fresh efforts to establish themselves at Bassein. There is a belief that they might succeed by distributing money.

I give you a brief account, Sir, of the interview I had with Balajirao, of which I informed you above. The private conversation rolled first on the present affair, which he found, like me, very difficult to clear up.

On the reproaches I made to him that the repeated demands for the Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi in the province of Arcot were on infraction of the treaty of Bhalki, he replied to me that they did not proceed from him, that these rights were formed out to some Brahmins who had his seal and used his name. He added that he would get these demands totally stopped, and that if the affairs subsequently permitted him to descend into the province of Arcot, he would swear an alliance with the French and demean himself as a friend.

He declared to me that he was incensed with the English of Bombay who deceived him in the expedition of Angre. They have usurped articles worth about 40 lakhs which by the conditions of their treaty were to be the share of Balajirao who had furnished them with a chief at the head of 5000 Marathas. He has resolved to avenge himself for their dishonesty, and to begin, he grants an establishment to the Dutch at Bassein which he had refused to them for a long time at the solicitations of the English.

I brought down the conversation on the Portuguese and the surrender of Bassein. It is a matter which it is difficult to treat with this Maratha.

This conversation has began and is carried on in a friendly spirit. The termination of the affair appears to me still distant. I shall communicate it to you in due time.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C^a 92, f. 186-188v^o.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
April 27, 1756.

Sir,

You must be on the spot to understand the nature of the embarrassments into which I am plunged, and of which I have given the detail in my letter of the 28th March and to which have been joined others of which I shall speak to you at the end of this letter.

This preamble explains to you sufficiently, Sir, that it was necessary that the same Providence which has conducted me by the hand through so many perils, should once again manifested itself in my favour.

All the parties, in spite of their opposite views, appear to have united to reduce Savanur by force, I got a battery raised; the Nawab or Shah Nawaz Khan and Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan did the same thing in their turn. The operation of the French, which was carried out with all speed, had begun to undecisive Balajirao who had been given to understand that we did not intend and were not eager to act effectively. Two days of cannonading finally convinced him. The liveliness of our fire overawed the Marathas, the Mughals and the Pathans shut up in Sounur. Although the secret intrigues were in full swing, it was unanimously agreed apparently to entrust all the diffences to my arbitration and leave them to my decision. This is the point which I had wished the affairs to reach to placate the Maratha power of which I wished to win the esteem and friendship founded on fear, not to alienate the Pathans because of the fouzdar of

Cuddapah who can cause you anxieties, and finally to maintain my authority in the Darbar and render the nation always more redoubtable and more necessary to it.

This peace is concluded to the glory of the French name and the satisfaction of the interested parties, in spite of the enormous opposition of their views. Balajirao is paid his Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi ; some territory, which the Darbar has withdrawn from the fouzdar of Savnur, is ceded to Balajirao in exchange of others which he gives up in the dependency of Aurangabad. Murarrao, without being harmed, comes to terms with Balajirao. I cannot say anything to you about Muzaffar Khan ; nothing has yet been decided on his account. This is the outcome of the public affairs ; that of our private ones is not less striking.

Murarrao, whom I wished to placate simultaneously as I appeared to act against him and who was supported by Holkar and other powerful chiefs, was all the less inclined to relax his rights as he knew that he was supported by a strong party. I won over Holkar whom I have turned into a friend and brought Murarrao to the desired end by withdrawing from him, along with the waiver of all that he said was due to him by the French, all the documents and the conventions made between him and M. Dupleix which consist in :

1. A document on which is impressed the thumb in saffron according to the usage of the country with the seal of M. Dupleix.
2. A document with the thumb impression of Mme Dupleix with her seal.
3. A document, written in Marathi on which is set the seal and signature of M. Dupleix, containing the condition made with the Maratha chief, for his pay as well as that of the troops which he was free to keep, etc.
4. Two documents in Marathi, without any seal, which consist of the sums which Murarrao received as partial payment in advance and from which it appears actually that nearly 14 lakhs would be due to him.

These are, Sir, all the documents which concern the affair of Murarrao. But as with these sorts of men we must always take sureties

which might protect us from any recurrence on their part, I got two papers delivered to me in Marathi language signed and sealed with all the usual formalities.

The first records that Murarrao has no longer any dispute with the Company of France and the men of Pondicherry, that for this purpose, he has delivered to me all the papers which related to it and that if he was found in possession of any other, it will have no value

By the second document, the Maratha chief entirely desists from the sums which he claimed from the French and that he considers them properly and duly discharged.

The issue of the Government of Barhanpur, of which I spoke to you in my letter of the 5th March, is also terminated as I had desired it, so that we are free from all the debts of the Deccan by means of the discharge of Rs. 1,33,245 which had remained due.

I shall not expatiate, Sir, on the importance of the service which I was fortunate enough to render to the nation on this occasion. It speaks loudly enough. Murarrao would not have failed, sooner or later, to avail himself of his claims on this subject. Besides the dishonour and the shame which fell on the nation for taking this man in its service and not paying him, the reputation of fidelity to the given word would also have been lost. Murarrao would have engaged as many forces as he wished against us without difficulty. Each one in Asia willingly accepts to help those who claim their dues, and even if there would not be due to him as much as he claims, it was always a pretext to trouble us on occasions. Moreover, this quarrel between the Maratha and the French was no longer a secret. It was time that the public stopped to hear about it, so that the number of those, who are not well disposed towards us, is not increased.

The pleasure from all these successes is a little tempered by the senseless step of Salabat Jang taken in concert with Balajirao at whose camp he went alone to treat the affairs of the province of Arcot. He side the English were masters of this province since M. Dupleix had been expelled from Pondicherry (these are his words), which circumstance showed, he added, that our King completely disapproved all that had been done by us, etc. He then passed on to the affairs of Delhi,

and as he is terribly afraid of the Vazir since the marriage of Abdouladi Khan¹, of which I have related to you the circumstances, he affected to renounce the Government of the Deccan, or at least share it with Nizam Ali, his brother. This step would enable him to withdraw if the Vazir appeared in these parts, as it is reported that he is going to do after expelling the Pathan Ahmad Abdali. He just had an advantage over him which has made him master of Lahore where he has placed one of the sons of the Emperor. This Vazir today marches in the direction of Kabul always with greatest successes. He has been wounded in the arm during the last action which took place in Kashmir where he has also established another son of the Emperor. Khan Khanan, his maternal uncle, ex-Vazir, was killed in this action.

The supporters of Nizam Ali, have always been and still are in a sufficiently large number. The Mughals, who are neutral, fear that Salabat Jang, if he happened to persist in his resolution, may cause the ruin of the Mughal Government in the Deccan. Shah Nawaz Khan, Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan and I, we are today occupied with this matter and want to prevent its consequences. The two first have no share in this measure of Salabat Jang whom the unstable state of his mind and his natural timidity have blinded and seduced on this occasion. What is happening is entirely the work of the women and the eunuchs.

I am coming out of the Nawab's tent with Shah Nawaz Khan and many other noblemen. It appears that everything will terminate by the appointment of Nizam Ali as honorary governor of Hyderabad and of his second brother as that of Vijapur. In that case, it will not bring about any change in the affairs.

M. de Noronha has been in this army for some days. I think I have persuaded him to stop all his wanderings and return to Pondicherry when the armies separate.

I remain, etc.

1. Abdul Hadi Khan.

C^a 92, f. 188v^o-189.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang.
April 27, 1756.

Sir,

This letter, which I address to you, is private and does not form part of the correspondence. It contains one with a flying seal for the Supreme Council. You can use it as you deem it fit. As you, Sir, represent the King and the Company in India, I thought it my duty to communicate to it an event so advantageous to its interests on which I hope you will be kind enough to give me marks of your satisfaction.

I remain, etc.

C^a 92, f. 189.

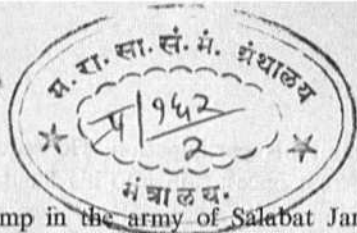
From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang.
April 27, 1756.

Gentlemen,

By this letter I inform you that my negotiation with Murarrao has secured the surrender of all the papers and conditions, etc. which this Maratha chief had made with M. Dupleix, and in addition, a general discharge of the sums, which he asserts, are due to him by the French nation and which he raises to merely 14 lakhs of rupees. I have also succeeded in obtaining the total liquidation of the debts of the Deccan by obtaining a discharge of a sum of Rs. 1,33,245 which had remained to be paid. As the interests of the Company, which you represent, Sirs, are infinitely dear to me, rest assured that I shall seek all the occasions to give it fresh marks of my zeal.

C² 92, f. 189-189v°.

447



From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang.
May 7, 1756.

Sir,

Since the letter which I wrote to you on the 27th ultimo, of which you will find herewith the duplicate, the armies have struck camp before Savnur. There has arisen a labyrinth of cabals and intrigues occasioned by the appointment of the brothers of the Nawab to the Subhas of Vijapur and Berar. This is the work of Balajirao to whom the Nawab has completely surrendered himself. I do fear that it may subsequently create troubles. I cannot tell you when the armies will separate.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 92, f. 189v°-195.

From the French camp in the army of Salabat Jang,
May 13, 1756.

Sir,

You have seen the embarrassments in which I found myself, and the means by which I extricated myself from the labyrinth of intrigues in which I was involved. But the senseless measure of Salabat Jang to spare his authority with his brothers and put himself at the discretion of Balajirao has put a finishing touch to the confusion, and precipitated in some sort the ruin of his affairs. You know from my letter of the 27th April the manner in which he spoke about the nation while discussing the affairs of Arcot with the Maratha. He bitterly complained about the manner in which we had neglected to include him in the treaty concluded between the respective commissioners, and about the disposal which had been made of his lands

without his participation. He requested Balajirao to put the province of Arcot once again into his hands, or allow Muhammad Ali Khan to administer it, since our alliance was useless to him in this respect. While concluding, he referred to the ignominious manner in which, he said, M. Dupleix had left India without paying Murarrao and others the debts which he had contracted. This is in keeping with the Asiatic genius in which everything is personal. We know sufficiently that with the Mughal nation, we should never rely on its gratitude. It acts on diametrically opposite principles. This, if you meet with some qualms on its part, you must attribute it to the fear which you could inspire in it, or to the hope of fresh services. There is no doubt that all that Salabat Jang has said to Balajirao on the affairs of Arcot was suggested to him by a cabal who is hostile to us; it is not that he is himself not capable of this proceeding. His character is sufficiently painted in my correspondence. He next spoke of the affairs of Delhi and his fears about the Vazir. The first fruit which the cunning Maratha could reap from Salabat Jang was to persuade him to share his authority and his estates with his two brothers. The representations, made to him on this false step, have indisposed him. Blindly given up to the caprices and the whims of his enemy, whom he takes as his protector, he has no other fear than that of displeasing him. The cabal of Muhammad Ali Khan advised him first to go and spend the monsoon at Shira which is only six or seven days' distance from Arcot where they foresaw that we would not go. It was to invite us to take it or leave it and call the men of Mahammad Ali. But Salabat Jang too timid to advance so close to the province of Arcot, jumps at accepts the illusory offer made to him by Balajirao to leave one of his sons with him with 25,000 cavalry to dispense, he has been assured, with both the French and the English. Salabat Jang, who indeed refuses to notice the trap in this proposal, is only more confirmed in the project to go to Aurangabad, supported, as he believes it, by the Maratha power. Thereby they compel us to retire to our districts.

Independently of all these cabals, the Dëccan, divided among three masters as it is by the last arrangements of the Nawab who has given the Subha of Berar to one of his brothers and that of Vijapur to the other by Balajirao's advice, in spite of the representations of the Darbar and all the good Musalmans attached to the family of Asaf Jha, who

brought to his notice the aim of this Maratha to destroy the Mughal nation, the Deccan, I repeat it, will become the theatre of disorder and trouble and Balajirao will incite the brothers against each other, which event would take place even when they would not be incited to it. It is the Asiatic genius to see the son fight against the father and the brothers against the brothers. He will, therefore, try by this means to destroy them at each other's hands and invade the whole Deccan all alone. The youngest of the brothers, that is to say, that who possesses the Subha of Vijapur, has already given him to understand that he would cede to him half of this Subha if he would protect him. Add to that, Sir, the Vazir's resolution to send a Shahzada to the Deccan through the mediation and under the protection of the Marathas whom he woos to day. It is the famous Holkar who is to be charged with this expedition by the Vazir. There are some proposals which concern us and which I shall communicate to you at the end of this letter. It is not proper, in my opinion, to expose the nation to so many revolutions and involve it in these catastrophs which appear to day as inevitable. It is not advisable to see things from a little far off, especially in the expectation of the execution of the conditional treaty between the French and the English? If it took place, we would be on our lands, in a position to execute it without dishonour, by placing in the Four Circars persons who would be devoted to us in the contrary case. We would be likewise within reach to oppose the enterprises of the English and the natives.

We have to deliberate on the two decisions which are left to us to be either to retire to our districts under mortgage as it is proposed to us by the Nawab who gives us a kind of leave until he recalls us as on the first occasion, or to remain with him in spite of the cabals and expose ourselves to the risks which I am going to indicate and of which the remoteness of our concessions is the least serious. The decision to remain in the Deccan, in spite of those who seek to remove us from it, exposes the King's subjects, the reputation of his arms and the interests of the nation to revolutions from which it is not certain that we would extract ourselves with honour. The hasards of war, greater in Asia than in Europe, because they originate in treachery, are not to be disregarded. A big defeat would be followed by a total ruin, because of the enormous distance in which we would

be and which does not permit us to obtain succour sufficiently promptly. The Maratha power, if it is opposed to us (it is to what it is earnestly solicited) can overwhelm us by the number, although we would maintain a superiority in valour which it will never equal. It is not that I am not confident of Balajirao and other chiefs of his nation, as much as you can be so with the Asiatics. This Maratha has even promised me on oath that whatever revolutions may take place, we can count on his alliance and the tranquil possession of our districts. It is sufficiently known that the power of this nation is much superior to that of the Mughals. Among the latter, the traitor resembles so much the true friend that it is not easy to distinguish between the two. Their facility to quit in an instant the sentiments of friendship and adopt those of perfidy and treachery, requires that you should always be distrustful. Moreover, the news from Europe, which speaks of a coming rupture with the English, seems to our domains, and I have every reason to presume, Sir, that the return to our districts will be consistent with your intentions.

But this decision by protecting us from the risks mentioned above is not by itself without disadvantage. We must not forget (1) the conditions on which we hold the Four Circars, and (2) the paravana for the province of Arcot which can be dispatched to Muhammad Ali Khan who has been since long making advantageous offers. As for the fear that the English would seek to occupy our place, it is not well founded for the present because of the views of Balajirao and the dispositions of the Nawab. He will also appear indifferent whether the paravana of Arcot should be delivered or not, when he will think about how the English and Muhammad Ali Khan have behaved till today, as if they had it because of their superiority. The conditions which concern our districts under mortgage ought not to worry us even when we would decide no longer to remain in the Deccan.

I, therefore, take the decision which appears most consistent with the situation of affairs, and I am marching towards our domains.

The Nawab will not reap other fruit from his senseless measure by placing himself at the discretion of Balajirao than the contempt of this Maratha. People are complaining about the irregularity of his behaviour and the folly of his talks; all those who were attached to

me follow me and have left their service in the army and elsewhere, of which they have offered their resignation. Shah Nawaz Khan himself came to my camp where he remained for two days deploring the state of objectness and meanness to which the obstinacy and imbecility of the Nawab will lead him. It is, however, this same Shah Nawaz Khan who is the moving spirit behind all the intrigues against us and of all the extravagant behaviour of Salabat Jang, and he has done that with a view to harming us, although he denies it most solemn oaths. If the circumstances had not been so embarrassing in respect of Delhi, the Deccan and Europe, if my detachment had not been reduced to almost nought by desertion and if I had not had the Maratha power on my hands, I could have taken the same decision as for his predecessor. The only reason, which this man can have to behave in this way, is that he wanted, according to me, to administer everything without any interference on our part, especially in so far as the province of Arcot is concerned. In that case, what role would we have played? It is not that it is easy to convince him at present of his dishonesty. The sequence will develop itself. It is not also that his intrigues are to be feared so far as our districts are concerned and still less his forces.

He has left no stone unturned to corrupt the fidelity of Hyder Jang and those who are attached to me by the finest offers, while assuring me of the greatest gratitude and complete devotion for all that I have done for him. But this man cannot support himself for long. He has made enemies for himself in too large a number and too powerful, among others, Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan

I forewarn you, Sir, that one named Monnelal, who enjoys his confidence, is charged, under his direction, with the seals of the Nawab, and he might, of his own authority, write to you in the former's name in a manner as devoid of truth as common sense on the present events. But for the welfare of the affairs I request you to send the letters back to me so that I may for the welfare of the affairs I request you to send the letters back to me so that I may give a reply to them in your name, according to the true state of affairs and with reference to the events that have preceded, and I shall send you the copy of these replies. It is the step which M. Dupleix followed with advantage at the time of my return to the Deccan, may be because

there was complete uniformity of views. That is necessary not to give here to our enemies a hold over us and to parry their blows. I have profited by the circumstances and in spite of little likelihood of success in it. I have strengthened the bonds of alliance with Balajirao and the Marathas, a power which to-day nothing can counterbalance in the whole Deccan, and even in all Hindustan. Balajirao is attached to us insomuch as one can expect from an Asiatic. This chief, his brothers and all those of his retinue have paid me visits in my camp, and the reciprocal assurances are given in the most authentic manner. Holkar, so famous, as you know, for the revolution at Delhi and who, during the rainy-season, returns to his jahgir, is accompanying me for some days. It is he, as I have said it to you elsewhere who will be charged with executing the designs of the Vazir. Here are the proposals which concern us and of which I promised to speak to you and which are addressed to Balajirao by the Vazir :

1. He demands under the conduct of Holkar 1200 Frenchmen. 5000 sipahees, 1000 cavalry, 50 guns and 4 mortars.

2. He gives for that purpose Rs.2,00,000 per month, offers a jahgir worth 25 lakhs per year in Hindustan, assures the possession of all that we possess actually in the north, and advances 4 lakhs for the necessary preparations. These conditions are ratified by the Vazir, Balajirao, Sadoba, his brother, and Holkar. I have neither refused them nor accepted them by referring everything to your decision, to which suggestion the Maratha has consented. I have also assured myself of his sentiments if Salabat Jang happened to withdraw completely from our alliance. There are also some other proposals which can hardly be developed in a letter. That is why I intend to send you a person to post you with them. In the meanwhile, these are my reflections :

First of all, Sir, I think, as you previously wrote to me that the Company will not approve of such a plan. In this case, what takes place today, might open to us the door to an honest retreat, by impressing upon the English the sacrifice that we are making. Our stay with Salabat Jang for six years has not been of any utility for the affairs of Arcot where the English and Muhammad Ali have always had their way without bothering about our rights. In the

present circumstances, we cannot expect any succour of any kind from the Mughal nation. Thereby, even his alliance will be a burden to us. We no longer need it for the preservation of what we possess in the north, for, the English have enough in the south. I know the weakness of this nation ; we have nothing to fear or hope from it.

If we intended to continue to participate in the affairs, then the expedition of Delhi cannot but be advantageous to us. Otherwise, I think that we must stay in our domains and wait there for the events from Asia as well as from Europe, whether Salabat Jang recalls us according to the usual wage or leaves us. Circumstances will serve us as a guide.

Balajirao continues to be ill disposed towards the English. He complains in the bitterest terms about the lack of honesty of this nation in the conditions which he had made with it. Among other grievances, he cites : 1. that they obtained in the expedition of Angre more than 50 lakhs which should have come to him. 2. that they seized a fortress by a kind of treachery at a time when the Maratha chief whom he had sent to their assistance was negotiating with the person who was commanding. He finally assured me that he would give orders to the fleet stationed before Bassein to seize all the English ships. The English General throws back the blame on the person who commanded the expedition but who is not under his orders, as he was the King's officer. In this connection, the Portuguese adopted quite a dishonourable attitude by receiving two lakhs from Angre whom they abandoned after promising succour.

At the moment when Balajirao paid me a visit, I received a letter from M. le Verrier who informed me of the capture of two ships which he had equipped at Surat and of which the cargo amounted to more than 8 lakhs. It is the fleet at Bassein which had committed this act of hostility. He had attached to his letter another one for Balajirao which I handed over to him. The latter assured me that he was going to give such precise orders to the killedar of Bassein that all would be restored exactly, and requested me to write to M. le Verrier that henceforward when he would fit out some ship, he should first obtain from the killedar

mentioned above a Kowl which would put the navigation out of harm's way.

When Murarrao, after the affairs were settled, came to take leave of me, he solicited me so earnestly to help him in the tight situation in which he then was, for the maintenance of his house, his equipment, etc., that I was touched by his condition and especially by the assurances which he gave me to be indissolubly attached to the nation and to be always at your orders. I delivered to him, according to his demand, twenty thousand rupees from my money. I thought it my duty not to refuse this sum to a mahar who had renounced in our favour a very large one, and the refusal of which would have turned him into an enemy. I request you, Sir, to draw it from the treasury of the Company for my account and do me the pleasure not to refer me for its recovery to our concessions or to the treasury of Machchalipatnam.

I have in my camp Vakils of several Mughal noblemen, of Balajirao, of Holkar and of other Maratha chiefs to post me with all the events that will take place.

I am marching as fast I can to avoid the swelling of the rivers. I have nearly 300 koss to make to reach Rajahmundry.

C² 92, f. 131v^o-136v^o.

Pondicherry, May 24, 1756.

Sir,

The present letter, is to inform you that Murtiaz Ali Khan, Killedar of Vellore, is going to send Vakils to Salabat Jang to treat his affairs with Muhammad Ali Khan. They have asked from me this letter of recommendation so that you should uphold their cause. I solicit you to use your influence with Salabat Jang in their favour. It is in our interest to support him against Muhammad Ali Khan.

I have the honour, etc.

Pondicherry, May 25, 1756.

Sir,

I reply to your two letters dated the 4th and the 27th ultimo, and always following the order of the dates and the items in order to avoid all confusion.

I think that to repeat all that I have already said to you on this subject, would be to attenuate the praises and the satisfaction which I have already expressed to you and as everything ought to be a guarantee to you for my sentiments, I confine myself to assure you that nothing remains for you to be desired to feel sure about the justice which I pay you. I have publicised it, and I shall lose no occasion to convince you of it. You also ought not to doubt that the report faithful in its narration will dispose the Minister and the Company in Europe to confer on you finally the rewards due to your good qualities, and that is what I desire with all my heart.

What I wrote to you, Sir, in my last letter, of which you have herewith the duplicate, on the question of the paravana of the Four Districts, ought finally to set your mind at rest: I refer to it.

It is quite certain that the Viceroy of Goa had decided to send 400 men to the succour of Angré and that he even received two lakhs cash probably out of the amounts which were to be paid to him, but for reasons of which I am not aware, he changed his mind and recalled his men.

The success of the English against Angré is definite and acknowledged. But I think that they are not yet sure of enjoying it peacefully. Balajirao is rightly annoyed with this nation which in all its actions appears to have acquired the genius of the people of this country: I mean sometimes haughty, at other times submissive according to the circumstances before which they know how to yield. Therefore, I would not be sorry to hear that the Marathas are seeking and employing means to avenge themselves. Our rivals would then be obliged to divide their attention on more than one side, and for this reason. I think that in the uncertainty in which we are about the dispositions in Europe, it would be advisable to provoke Balajirao, may be to

dissuade the Marathas from any fresh alliance with the English. It is an item which I submit, like many others, to your reflections.

The impression, which could have been made on the Mughals by the conditional treaty which the English have endeavoured to publicise, ought to be dissipated since your last operations.

You delight me when you write to me about the effect produced in your quarters by the preparations of war to which the English had forced me by their conduct. It is very certain that I had decided to pursue their outcome and that I envisaged beforehand the advantage of displaying our arms in this country.

There is no longer any need to hesitate on the necessity to ally ourselves with the powers and especially with the Court of Delhi without, however, coming to a public overture or to a definite engagement. The question is to continue to foil, by our presence and friendly correspondence with them, all the attempts which the English might make to interfere with these great interests. We must hold them reduced as they are to their only ally Muhammad Ali. It is with this intention that I did not hesitate to promise to the Vazir the small succour in gunners, etc., which he asked from me, as you must have seen from one of my previous letters. To take a decision in sending them to him, I await some news from Europe more positive than that which I have received so far.

You reassure me on the anxieties caused to me by the various reports which came to my ears on the subject of Shah Nawaz Khan. There is no doubt that as he is given up, like any other person, to his personal interest, it will always be easy for you by flattering him suitably to bring him to your views whenever he appears to deviate from them. I forget the story of the palanquin of Hyder Jang, and am convinced of the inaccuracy in the translation of his letter in connection with the word 'gratification.' You can reassure him on my part and tell him that the mistake is acknowledged. Herewith is my reply to his letter.

I shall henceforward send you my letters to Balajirao and others so that you should be in the know of the motives which engage me to correspond with them.

You define too well, Sir, the Asiatic genius for me to think of combatting your opinion. The experience, which we possess, had made it fairly known.

I have given an order to M. Moracin, who, a few days back, embarked to return to Machchalipatnam, to pay the sums due to you by the Company and that as early as he can do so.

I thank you for the detail in which you entered to communicate your interview with Balajirao. These public demonstrations accompanied by the usual ceremonial are so to say symbols of triumph, and in my opinion, they perhaps make as much impression on the people as a decisive victory.

Your interview with this Maratha reveals to us his intentions on the question of his repeated demands for the Chauthai and the Sardesh-mukhi in the province of Arcot and cannot but tranquillise us on the consequences. But as we possess only a very small part of this province, I would not be sorry if he or his Brahmin agents, whom he has stationed at Arcot, should continue to harass Muhammad Ali or the English on the payment of these rights. Law (of nations) permits this sentiment.

As I have already said to you above, maintain, Sir, Balajirao in the sentiments which he appears to have against the English. He is authorised to take revenge and we are interested in seeing that he takes it.

Let me know if you have an opportunity to get confirmation of the news which you give me about the establishment of the Dutch at Bassein, and enlighten me on this item at the end of your letter of the 4th in which you say "I brought down the conversation on the Portuguese and the surrender of Bassein. It is a subject difficult to treat with this Maratha (Balajirao)". I find it difficult to understand the real meaning of this sentence.

The contents of your letter of the 27th are too interesting and deal with important subjects. I admire, like you, the Guido Reni who seems to preside over all these events and the issue always appears to me advantageous as well as surprising.

Pacific dispositions have followed very serious preparations, and I am delighted to see that it is a question of satisfying the belligerent parties by arrangements of which you are left the arbitrator. This situation infinitely adds to your successes and I very sincerely share the joy which you feel at it.

Your caution for what concerns the fouzdar of Cuddapa in his relations with us is well placed, and this man will never desist, except on sure grounds, from his claims on Chidambaram although he has not written to me about it for a long time. I everyday await repeated demands on his part on this issue, and it is for this reason that I would wish that you succeed in the present circumstance in forcing him to renounce, if it is possible, his rights in these parts; it would be for us to recognise them when we judge it proper. Chidambaram is an important post which the Company orders me to put in good state in all respects to stop and harm the English as much as we can if the rupture takes place.

I do not yet see well who will pay for the expenses of the war which you have just terminated. The fouzdar of Savnur appears to me so far the only person who suffers from it the most. But I would be delighted to hear about the party which will have contributed to it most and what will become of Muzaffar Khan.

The end of the issues to be cleared with Murarrao who is supported by Holkar although in the army of Balajirao, is worthy of you. You make friends of those at the very moment when they could burst out, and everything has succeeded as you and I had desired. The precautions you have taken to assure the validity of his waiver are good, and I do think that he will never try to go back on his words. I doubt that he was authorised to raise his claims to 14 lakhs. But the more considerable, the claim, the more these people affect to demand its payment except to reduce the amount if they cannot succeed. Besides, all is over and we can set our mind at rest. I express to you all my joy for the payment of Rs. 1,33,245 which you have discharged by terminating the affair of the governor of Barhanpur.

You are quite right in saying that the two affairs speak sufficiently for you, and it is for this reason that I dispense with giving all the praises they deserve.

I am more grieved than surprised, Sir, at the report you give me on the subject of the conduct which Salabat Jang recently adopted vis-a-vis Balajirao. His simplicity and his sentiments convince us at every step that this man would be incapable of supporting himself if it was absolutely necessary for us to renounce participating in his interests, and this idea alone which leads us to dread the consequences of our present situation, ought to urge us to make most serious reflections on this matter. Here are those which I indulged in.

Our insecure and uncertain state since we have been interfering with the affairs of the Mughals and especially those of the Deccan, has affected us too much and still occupies us too much today in order not to think of the means to put them in a state of consistency which, while setting our mind at rest for obtaining, it could assure us the fruit of our labours. This point of view is fascinating and invites us to seek the ways which might lead us to this end. I, therefore, think that as Salabat Jang is certainly too feeble to protect himself without our support, we must think of casting our eyes on a person worthy and proper to replace him. Whoever may be this prince, there is no doubt that not unaware of the part we would have in his elevation, not only would his good qualities and courage attach us to him by indissoluble bonds either by remaining with him or withdrawing from him, but would also lead him to establish for himself an authority which would render him respectable in the whole Empire. This project is fine but the step is slippery. I am even afraid of indulging in it too much because of the obstacles which seem to envelop it. In fact, who would not think that this was the ground for a revolution and a signal for fresh troubles? Moreover, I am content with suggesting to you the idea, and I await your reflections consistent with the importance of the subject.

The dispositions of Salabat Jang to abandon the government of the Deccan or at least to share it with Nizam Ali, his brother, can indeed harm him in the eyes of all the Mughal princes who as well as his neighbours and his rivals, respect in him nothing but our support, and what other opinion can he give of himself?

Please give me the description of Nizam Ali. I have already heard much about him, and many persons assured me that he is esteemed

and respected by the Mughal princes because of the qualities he possesses and which promise much.

I am delighted to hear about the success of the Vazir and what he has done for the two sons of the Emperors. But at the same time, I think that so many successes can only elate him and nourish his ambition to such a point that soon we could see him bolder and more enterprising.

While talking about him, I refer to what I have just said to you on the subject of Salabat Jang. Now that we are sure of the favourable ideas which the Court of Delhi has about our alliance and in view of the very advances made to us by this Vazir, would there be any likelihood of success by entering with him into secret arrangements to obtain either for one of the sons of the Emperor or for one of the brothers of Salabat Jang or in short, for himself the post of the Subhedar? I ask you what you think of it, and I make you first this overture only because one day in future they should know that I have very sincerely tried to concur with you in everything which can successfully extricate us from the labyrinth in which we still are. If this negotiation materialised, it would be advisable that we corresponded in a cipher on everything that would have connection with it. In this case, you should better send me the cipher of M. Dupleix.

I await the confirmation of the news you give me on the subject of the appointment of Nizam Ali to the honorary government of Hyderabad and that of the second brother to the government of Vijapur. But I am already convinced that the authority of Salabat Jang cannot but be weakened at the very moment when there is a question of dividing it. From that moment, the parties are formed and the promoters only await the occasions to declare themselves.

If M. de Noronha returns here, I am quite ready to congratulate him on his campaign.

We everyday await ships from Europe to know how we stand. If we can trust the latest news which has come through the English source, there is reason to believe that in last October, there was nothing decided either for a settlement or for war.

The report is spread that you are going to march in the direction of Bednur, capital of Canara. If that is true, it would be an occasion to terminate our differences with this prince on the Malabar Coast, by demanding from him a sum for the expenses of the war which he made with us to oppose our establishment at Melliceram. These expenses can be estimated at two or three lakhs.

You have herewith my reply to the last letter which Salabat Jang wrote to communicate to me the birth of his son. The Council also replies to that which you have written to it.

I have the honour, etc.

C² 92, f. 195-195v°.

From the French Camp.
May 13th, 1756.

Sir,

The present letter which I address to you is private. It's sole object is to request you to kindly suspend for sometime the proceedings of the creditors of M. de Noronha who left this army a few days back to proceed to Sira and from there to Pondicherry. He so earnestly solicited me to point out to you his tight situation that I could not dispense, Sir, with painting it to you. He especially desires that you should kindly urge the Malabars, to whom he is indebted, to still wait for sometime, and that he will so well arrange his affairs that he will satisfy them as well as the other peasants to whom he owes money. He would also indeed wish that his house at Oulgaret be left to him.

I have the honour to remain very respectfully, etc.

C² 92, f. 195v°.

From the French Camp.
May 17, 1756.

Sir,

Since my last letter to you, of which you have herewith the duplicate we have moved with big marches always accompanied by Holkar. A heavy rain, accompanied with gusty wind, which has flooded several rivers, interrupted our march for three days. Holkar was surprised in his camp by a torrent which carried away a number of men, equipment and animals. I gave him all possible help. Today the flowing of the waters allows us to continue our route, which I am going to do by long marches. Holkar proceeds to the north and we to the east.

I have the honour to remain etc.

C² 92, f. 195v°-197v°.

From the French Camp.
May 24, 1756.

Sir,

Since the departure of my last letters, I received yours of the 22nd April to which I shall reply only briefly. As my letter of the 13th instant, which was very long, described our circumstances, I shall, therefore, pass on to the other items which deal with politics in general while making a mention of some which are personal to us.

When I communicated to you, Sir, the remission which I was forced to make to Hasan Ali Khan, I also pointed out to you that in spite of this piece of ill luck, I was doing my best to make both ends meet this year without touching the domains of Machchalipatnam. I have actually made arrangements in keeping with this idea, and the economic measures I have taken with regard to the daily expenses of my army, shall, I hope so, neutralise this remission, and it will not be necessary

for us to make to have recourse to anything elsewhere. As soon as I am in the districts, I shall provide for everything for the greatest advantage of the Company.

As M. Denis has informed me that it was not possible to furnish me a bigger sum than the three and a half lakhs for which M. de Moracin had made engagement with me, in view of the needs of the factory, I have consented to it with pleasure, delighted by this fresh delay to be able to contribute to the settlement of the affairs of the Company by other means.

I am grieved, I admit it to you, Sir, that the domains as considerable as those of Machchalipatnam should be totally absorbed by the expenses which are incurred. As for those of my army, the district of Condavir, as I pointed it out to you previously, has furnished them only for the last six months of 1754. Since this time the Four Circars have sufficed, and the revenues of Condavir have been employed only in paying the old debts of the Deccan.

The news from Europe, which you are pleased to communicate to me, appears to announce a fresh conflagration between us and the English. The acts of hostilities committed seem to serve as a prelude. Whatever it may be, your vigilance will not be at fault. You have wisely foreseen what can happen. The Company should be tranquil in this respect. As for the preservation of Machchalipatnam, Divy and our other domains of the north, I venture to assure you that I shall support your plans to the best of my ability.

As soon as I arrive in the districts, I shall examine the matter referred to in the petition joined to the copy of Mr. Pigot's letter, and I shall inform you about it. I was so far unaware of the vexations which are supposed to be committed by Ibrahim Khan. I even do not believe them probable. When I shall be on the spot, you can rest assured, Sir, that my sole care will be to maintain good order there. Allow me only to make a reflection on the first item of this petition.

If we acknowledge Ibrahim Khan as our representative, the English will not fail to address themselves to us for the claim of the said goods either in kind or in cash. This Ibrahim Khan has absolutely no fortune. Consequently, we shall be obliged to pay, although he is

furnished with a document which the English supercargo has signed to him in the form of a discharge, and which he will always produce to obviate everything. It would be advisable, save your better advice, Sir, that we should acknowledge this man as ours only indirectly. In this case, you should kindly write to the person who sent you this petition and at the same time inform him that you have given me orders for the settlement of this affair. If you deem it proper that I should act otherwise, kindly let me know it. A few days ago Balajirao sent me the letters for M. le Verrier and the Pandit or the Killedar of Bassein. Herewith is attached the copy of the letter to the latter from which you will see, Sir, that his master gives him the most precise orders to return all the cargo of the two ships to the cord, and protect the French nation in everything and everywhere.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 92, 197v^o-204.

From the French Camp.
May 26, 1756.

Sir,

Whatever haste I made to avoid the flooding of the rivers, I could not be there sufficiently in time. I was thus obliged to skirt the Krishna on the Southern bank to cross it at its confluence with the Bhima another big river, to avoid the double labour. The Nawab is also prevented from going to Aurangabad by the swelling of the Manjra, and has no alternative but to proceed to Hyderabad.

At the instigation of our enemies, he has just crowned his ingratitude towards us and his folly concerning his honour and interests which he has entirely entrusted to Balajirao to whom he has ceded the best part of the Subha of Vijapur, all his contributions from the south of the Krishna (he hasn't any elsewhere) without excepting Mysore. Besides, he has given to Holkar what was left to him from the Subha of Aurangabad, so that this town is today the only domain he possesses in this part, which Sadoba, brother of

Balajirao, intends to seize after the rains, an epoch when assuredly there will be troubles on all sides, which we should better watch from a little distance.

All that, Sir, is the work of Shah Nawaz Khan who sacrifices his master's interests to his own to maintain himself in his post with the protection of Balajirao, forgetting that he owes his fortune, his post and his life to us.

In order to persuade the Nawab to detach himself in some sort from us, these are the batteries which our enemies have raised. The first motive which they put forward (and that since the departure of M. Dupleix) is that our alliance deprived them entirely of the revenues of Arcot, as we could neither govern there for them nor allow them to give its administration to Muhammad Ali Khan, the only Mughal today, they assert, who would like to be charged with it and also the only person capable of administering it with the protection of the English who are masters of it, and superior, they add, to the French whose chief (M. Dupleix) was reproved and reproached by King for all his actions in India without being authorised, that consequently, no trust can be placed on our promises or any fear to be expected from you, since the example of M. Dupleix would prevent the French chiefs from henceforward undertaking any enterprise. They support these arguments on the reply of M. Le Godeheu to the harakaras who carried letters to M. Dupleix, a reply which they have not forgotten: "Go and tell your master that I have come here on behalf of my King only to look after commerce and that he can seek assistance where he judges it proper."

They also do not forget to convince the Nawab that we shall shortly make the retrocession of all that we possess. This is the result of the utterances of the English.

The quarrels which I had on this subject last year, at the end of this winter and in the course of this campaign are numberless. One among others, which, as I have communicated it to you at the time, forced us to take up arms at the very time of leaving Hyderabad.

Hyder Jang, who has never tried to reconcile himself with his nation, whenever there was a question of our interests, and who,

moreover, is thoroughly acquainted with our affairs, has always opposed the plans of Shah Nawaz Khan and others and has, for this reason, incurred their enmity. They did not fail to interest Balajirao in the conflict because of his right to Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi.

The second motive which, as they think, ought to set the Nawab against us, is our connection with the Court of Delhi and especially the Vazir. As the Asiatics judge us by themselves, it was not difficult to explain to the Nawab, weak and timid as he is, that we agreed with the views of the Vazir either to place his son in the Deccan or favour his design to send there a Shahzada, that in either case, it was necessary for him to put himself to seek the assistance of Balajirao, the only person who was in a position to prevent the success of the designs of the Vazir by the Asiatic principle which only recognises force and not the best cause; which behaviour they cannot expect from us who have other precedents.

Salabat Jung, following his genius, did not, therefore, hesitate to accept all these ideas, and the Maratha, as a clever man, to profits by them and hardly leaves him to-day enough to maintain 4000 to 5000 cavalry, promising him to help him with his forces.

The third motive which, indeed according to them, ought to alienate the Nawab from us, is the knowledge which we possess of their affairs and that which Hyder Jang gives us of all the secret intrigues which are contrary to our interests. They have forgotten the oaths in writing which I have taken from them not to do anything without my advice, especially so far as the province of Arcot is concerned. They have also forgotten, assuredly, that it is on my Kowl (which they requested me to give) that their vassals came and surrendered without entering into disputes. How could I have settled that of Murarrao and that which procured me the discharge of Rs. 1,33,245 and so many others, advantageous to the nation, which have preceded these two last ones?

As for the fourth and the last motive, they say that in case we have war with the English which must take place (as the latter have spread the report), our alliance becomes onerous to them, for the reason that they would be deprived of the revenues of the Four

Circars where we shall be forced to remain without being of any utility to them ; that, moreover, as the Marathas are no longer their enemies but on the contrary, are their protectors, they longer need our succour. They had previously some talks with me on this subject.

Holkar declared to me that Balajirao had been vigorously pressed to destroy us to the last man. But as this Maratha did not wish to agree to this horrible treachery, there was a suggestion to have me assassinated or poisoned (this is not the first time), because, after me, These are their expressions, they said, no Frenchman would be in the know of all their intrigues. All these secret criminal intentions were covered with the most cordial friendship and the most perfect gratitude for all the services which I had rendered to them.

Such is, Sir, the nation among which I have been supporting myself for six years and which I would have still subdued, however distant I was from all succour, without the reasons which I have narrated in my letter of the 13th instant, if I had not about 80 men in bed, if the mortality and desertion had not reduced me almost to nought.

This is, Sir, a situation almost similar to those in which I was when I returned to the Deccan, that is to say, that the question would be of to depose Shah Nawaz Khan from far or from near, as I then did Sayyad Lashkar Khan (for, as for the Nawab, he is always the slave of the person who is at the helm of his affairs). I would be very happy to have your orders on all these points in order to conform to them, or else, as M. Dupleix had given me, a full power to act according to the circumstances, either to use force or employ negotiation, with the restriction that I would not be held responsible for the failure and unfortunate events which might supervene, especially if the Nawab happened to withdraw himself completely from our alliance and if it was necessary to support ourselves in our dominions (I mean the Four Circars), of which we have the confirmation from the Emperor, the guarantee from Balajirao and more than all that of the sufficient forces (so long as the English do not interfere with them), if it was necessary, I repeat, to support ourselves in spite of the troubles which are preparing in these parts, which we should watch from a distance and in which we should avoid participating. When the Court and the Company will have fully decided

on the affairs of India, and if it is necessary to return the Four Circars and withdraw from all engagement with the Mughals, it will be an honourable door which this event will open for us. They can be handed over to persons who, being attached to us, will facilitate our trade and procure still other advantages to the Company. It is not that I do not presume that after the rains Salabat Jang may not be in the necessity to recall us, which step we ought to take only if he has first removed Shah Nawaz Khan and we are given guarantees against the revolutions.

Without the embarrassing necessity of conciliating our interests in Europe and the form of our Government diametrically opposed to that in which we are, nothing would worry me, not even the letters which could be written to the zamindars of our Circars in order to incite them to revolt. I neither fear the troubles in these districts nor the ventures of the Mughals whom I know. Reduced as they are to the last extremity, they can hardly make demands which it is easy to reject. However, please, Sir, tell me what I should do in case Salabat Jang, always instigated by our enemies or thinking that he no more needs us, a demand for the surrender of the Four Circars. Would you think, Sir, that it would be more proper to reject if totally or cleverly elude it? For, whatever happens, we must first provide for the payment of our troops. I, therefore, await your orders which I shall follow exactly. But I cannot help telling you that all these dispositions of the Mughals with regard to us have their origin in the manner in which M. Dupleix was obliged to quit India after the reputation he had earned among the Asiatics who are absolutely unaware of the form of our Government.

Besides, Sir, whatever may be the dispositions of this nation, it is in such a state of weakness and from which it will never rise again that its alliance cannot henceforward be useful to us in any case or its withdrawal harmful, as I have already pointed it out to you. Therefore, I think that the best decision is to hold firm in our domains until the Court and the Company have taken a final decision on the affairs of India. What you write to me by your last letter about the English squadron, the dispositions in Europe and the impossibility in which, you foresee, you will be to recruit troops from here this

year, all these considerations ought to induce us to stick to the decision to remain in our district.

However, there would be another which might obviate the disadvantages produced by the dispatch of the paravana of Arcot to Muhammad Ali Khan. It would be to stay at Hyderabad if this document was really issued. But this decision, in relation to the tranquillity of your districts, has itself and some disadvantages. Moreover, this paravana would be granted in the same manner as the one which was dispatched three years ago at the time of the march of Ghazi-ud-din Khan and which I have in my hands. It was delivered for two lakhs at the time when Salabat Jang, who would not beforehand hear about it, needed us most : such is the Asiatic.

A few days before all these quarrels, which I have communicate to you in my letter of the 13th, I strongly represented to the Nawab the necessity to leave the things on the same level on which the treaty had placed them until we received the news from Europe. But supported by Balajirao, they (the noblemen of the Darbar) objected equally strongly that as they were not consulted on this very treaty, they bothered very little about it, that they had no reason to wait for any news from Europe, and that it was not that which they would consult to govern their country. They said many other things which tended to make us feel how we were inferior to day to the English and to Muhammad Ali Khan, who was generally recognised as governor of the province, and added that unless they wished to lose entirely its revenues, they could not dispense with sending him the patents. After some debates, sufficiently hot, on this subject, they appeared to give in. But I learnt since that they must have sent this paravana and that a certain Ibrahim Khan, was its bearer, as well as of the usual sarpech. My correspondence since the arrival of Monsieur Le Godeheu is full of reflections on this matter. They are as many prognostics on everything that takes place to day.

Here is, Sir, an extract of a letter of which Hyder Jang obtained a copy with a bribe. It is addressed to Shah Nawaz Khan and Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan by Muhammad Ali Khan.

"Your anxieties are misplaced and the reports, which have spread on the return of General Dupleix with forces, are absolutely false. It is even reported that he has been arrested on his arrival in his country, and that his Padshah is very ill-disposed towards him for all that he had done in India, and he is very far from being rewarded for it, as you believed it. You can, therefore, follow your plan for this province and send me its sanad. The men of Pondicherry dare not stir; for the rest, it is the proper thing for you to do. Your union with Balajirao will facilitate your plans."

This is, Sir, much stir and much treachery. However, Balajirao, not bothering about the Mughals, has taken his decision and has left them, it is reported to their repentance for all the measures they have taken. They take the route to Hyderabad and have crossed the river at the same place as I. Shah Nawaz Khan is overwhelmed with insults by the people.

4th June.

I left this letter open till today to have the pleasure to inform you, Sir that we have crossed the Krishna, which cost us six days of labour. But everything was managed in such a way that there was no accident.

Here is the reply which, I am assured, was given to Muhammad Ali Khan.

"Since a long time you have been promising fifteen lakhs for the sanad of Arcot and in addition, to send your men and Englishmen when the French have withdrawn. I expect that you will execute all your promises and that you will come via Neuore-Servapally."

I therefore request you, Sir, to give me one precise orders to act so that the predicaments are not imputed to me, as I have demanded it from you above. Our affairs in the north will not suffer at all from all these troubles. All the hope of our enemies is perhaps founded on receiving the revenues of Arcot from the English. If they fail to achieve this, they will find themselves in the necessity to throw themselves at our feet to regain our friendship.

As for the affairs of the south, they will remain in the same state, the parvana and the sarpech will not make any change, since

Muhammad Ali Khan and his supporters have been behaving as if they had received them. If the English thought of proceeding to the Deccan, it will not be more difficult for you to thwart this project than the one which they had planned on Vellore. I am quietly awaiting your order not having any fear for our districts and domains of the north, if, however, you authorize me to take a firm decision.

I have the honour to remain etc.

C^a 92, f. 136v°-141v°.

Pondicherry, June 22, 1756.

Sir,

I am replying to your letters of the 13th, 17th, 24th and 26th May, the last dispatched on the 4th instant.

Although by that of the 27th April, you communicated to me the bitter complaints which Salabat Jang had made against us to Balajirao, while speaking to him the affairs of Arcot and the treaty concluded between us and the English, as it appeared from this same letter that you were acting in concert with Shah Nawaz Khan and Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan on the question of the appointment of the two brothers of the Nawab to the Governments of Berar and Vijapur, I had no reason to expect the sudden revolutions which took place since and your separation from Salabat Jang whose ruin appears inevitable after the extravagant conduct which he has just adopted. You are right in saying that we can never depend on the gratitude of the Mughals. The latter must never have felt for us the slightest gratitude for us, otherwise he would not have changed so quickly from the sentiments which he owes us to those of treachery and perfidy. Moreover, he is an imbecile with whom it is unfortunate that we have to deal. After all that you have done in the Deccan, the affairs of this Government would have assumed quite a different stable state, if we had placed there a man capable of feeling the good that we wished him and supporting himself by his own efforts. This region,

without a head today, will certainly become the theatre of troubles and revolutions by which the Marathas will not fail to profit. Their plans, those of the Vazir, the parties which are going to be formed in favour of the brothers of the Nawab, all things appear to announce an unfortunate catastrophe for the latter.

I approve the decision you have taken to quit the army of Salabat Jang and take the route to the ditrics under mortgage. The enormous distance in which you were from all succour, the feebleness of your army reduced, according to what you tell me, almost to nothing by sickness, mortality and desertion, fear of treacheries, so many reasons would necessitate this decision in such circumstances. It would have been rashness to remain with Salabat Jang in spite of him, whatever may be the disadvantages which will certainly result from our withdrawal.

I shall not expatiate on the different motives which urged the Nawab to separate himself from us. Whatever they may be, should they have prevailed over the gratitude he owes us, and even if, indeed, he had been assured of our plan to abandon him, what necessity was there for him to precipitate the decision which he has taken to deliver himself to the Marathas, if it is true that Balajirao had been pressed to destroy you, you and all your army? It is the height of ingratitude. The Nawab in vain complains of having been deprived so far of the revenues of the province of Arcot and of our concessions of the north. We are still far from being compensated for the expenses which we incurred for him in this part as in the north, and all the blood which we spilt in his service. But let us leave these reflection alone in order to pass to those which our situation today demands.

Since circumstances have obliged the Nawab to take the route to Hyderabad instead of proceeding to Aurangabad with Balajirao as he had proposed, you should not think of staying in this former place. Reach as fast as possible our concessions and hold fast there. It is the surest and the most suitable decision in the expectation in which we are of an impending rupture between France and England. Endeavour to put yourself in a position to defend yourself against the enterprises of the English in case the rupture takes place. If, on the contrary, orders came to put into execution the conditional treaty, free

from our engagements with Salabat Jang, our honour is at least safe and we must consent to the contemplated retrocessions.

This last consideration ought to prevent you, Sir, from returning to the Nawab, supposing that he recalled you, and without refusing it, it would be advisable to drag on until we knew if the decision was taken in favour of war or peace. In the meantime, you will do well to try for the deposition of Shah Nawaz Khan, and employ for this purpose all the means of intercourse which you may have preserved in the army of Salabat Jang. It would be, as a preliminary, necessary if it was a question of a return there.

I do not think that the Mughals will come to disturb you in your concessions and to expel you from them. No doubt you ought to take in this case a firm decision, but I shall observe to you that war with them is to be avoided in order not to furnish to the English any pretext to go over to the side of Salabat Jang who will not fail to call them. Therefore, I think that if he signified to you to withdraw from the said concessions, the best thing would be to elude. But you must not hesitate to repulse force by force. It would even be advisable to hasten and prevent by some decisive stroke the succour which the English might send.

Besides, Sir, I entirely leave to you all the freedom, whether you are forced have recourse to war or whether the affairs turn into a negotiation. Do not be afraid of being held responsible for ill success or unfortunate events which might supervene, and act with confidence.

For the present, the English do not appear to me to be in a position to send a big succour to Salabat Jang. They cannot strip themselves in these parts without running the risk of losing the province of Arcot whose revenues furnish the salary of the troops which they have undertaken to maintain with this Nawab. Will they go to engage themselves in the revolutions to which, it appears, the Deccan will be exposed and in a labyrinth of intrigues of which it would be impossible for them to unravel the thread? I have my eyes on all their measures, and if I saw them take this decision, you ought to be convinced that I shall not remain quiet. For some time, they have been making movements on board their squadron, anchored at Cuddalore, of which

I cannot guess the motive. A week back, they got embarked 250 men of their King's Regiment and 500 sipahees, giving out at times that ships are coming to support us, at other times that they are going to the Malabar Coast against the Marathas. But in my opinion, these precautions are premature, and I do not know what to think of them. I am very impatient to hear about your arrival at Vijaywada. The concessions of the north are so stripped of troops that in spite of all that I have just said to you above and the reasons they may have in order not to send their squadron to that part. I cannot be today without anxiety about them.

The friendship of Balajirao becomes necessary for us for the present, and I was delighted to find, from what you write to me, the good dispositions in which he appears to be with respect to us. However, they have not prevented him from coming to an understanding with our enemies to remove us from Salabat Jang. But undoubtedly the circumstance appeared to him too favourable to his interests to refuse to accept it. We might judge his intentions from the execution of the orders which he has sent to Bassein to return the two ships of M. Le Verrier. We ought indeed to be thankful to him for not wishing to asquiesce in the proposal made to him to destroy you and your whole army. I do not doubt that Salabat Jang, who sees himself to day abandoned and obliged to return to Hyderabad, will repent for all his steps, whatever may be the hopes on the succour which he expects from the English. It would be desirable that the grounds of complaints which the English have given to Balajirao on the occasion of their expedition against Angre could dispose him to disturb them on the Malbar Coast. But in order that this diversion should have some advantageous effect for us, he must attack Bombay. We might furnish him some ammunition.

Although I do not foresee that we might grant to the Vazir the succour which he demands, his proposals are not at all to be rejected. It is advisable to maintain this negotiation as also his friendship and his correspondence. If he wished to come to the Deccan or send there one of the sons of the Emperor, we must not hesitate, if we had war with the English. We must side with him and effectively endeavour to put him in the place and remove Salabat Jang, absolutely incapable

of governing such a vast territory. You must have seen from my last letter what I have written to you on this subject. I am most impatiently waiting for you to acknowledge its receipt. If this revolution could not materialise in favour of the Vazir, it would be still better to put one of the brothers of Salabat Jang in his place, in short, someone who would be in a position to maintain himself and who would not lose the fruit of our pains and our labours.

You are right in thinking that the Company will not approve the proposals of the Vazir. They are completely opposed to its system. However, they might become advantageous according to the circumstances. But we must have many troops, independently of the 1200 men which he demands, to march under the command of Holkar who himself has been charged with making to you the proposals. It would be advisable to continue to preserve in our concessions a body of troops sufficiently large to defend them. It is for me an enigma to see Balajirao and the Marathas, as guarantees for the treaty which the Vazir proposes. I had so far believed that the succours which he demanded, were to be destined against these very Marathas who are incontestably today the most redoubtable power in India.

You do not write to me about the employment he would make of this succour, supposing that it materialises. I have communicated to you by my letter of the 9th March the promise I have given to the Vazir of a few gunners. Perhaps it would be advisable to send them to him according to the circumstances.

I have received a letter from M. de Noronha dated the 15th instant from Coler¹, by which he informs me to his decision to fix his residence at Alemparve. Undoubtedly, he is afraid if he came to Pondichery, he would have to face the worries which might be created for him by his creditors against whom it would be easy for me to reassure him between now and the month of October, as he has solicited you, provided, nevertheless, he undertakes to pay by this time. He writes to me that he had met six days back two camels escorted by cavalry and entrusted with a sarpech from Salabat Jang with the paravana of the province of Arcot for Muhammad Ali Khan and another sarpech for the Governor of Madras.

¹. Kolar.

The English have so far disputed with us on the rights of Salabat Jang and his authority. Today they cannot recognise him as Subhedar of the Deccan without being at variance with themselves. But in my opinion, that will not embarrass them much. They will profit by this circumstance to have Muhammad Ali Khan recognised in a more authentic way than they have yet been able to do it by all the Killedars, jamindars and governors of the province. They will avail themselves of it in order to obtain all the tributes due to the Nawab of Arcot which several could have refused to pay, and I do not doubt that they will extend their rights as much as they can. I foresee that they will force us to oppose their undertakings contrary to our rights and the truce.

In case, I receive letters from Salabat Jang, I shall send them back to you, as you wish it, to reply to them in my name, according to the circumstances in which you might be.

The tight situation, in which we are here with regard to funds, does not permit me to withdraw from the treasury of the Company on your account Rs. 20,000 which you have given to Murarrao. It would be more in order if you obtained the payment of this sum on the revenues of Machchalipatnam.

It is very proper that you have kept with you the Vakils of the Mughal chiefs, Balajirao, Holkar and the other Maratha chiefs so that you can be posted with what is taking place.

I replied some time back to Mr. Pigot on the question of the position, of which he has sent me a copy, in a manner not to compromise ourselves in case the goods claimed by this petition could not be recovered. I anticipated what you write to me on this issue. My reply is confined to say that I was sending you this document and that I did not doubt that you will do all that depend on you to satisfy him on its contents.

If the English intend to send a body of troops to Salabat Jang and if they dispatch it *via* Nellore-Servapalli, I do propose to make a diversion in this part. But it might happen that it will not stop these troops which I think, you might obstruct without, however, moving away too

far from your concessions. But I cannot do better than to refer it to your prudence for the decision you will have to take. Whether you take the decision to go and meet this detachment of troops to beat it back or whether you decide to go to Hyderabad or whether you judge it proper to remain at Rajahmundry, I propose to shortly send to Machchalipatnam, a reinforcement of 70 to 80 soldiers. I shall give order to M. Moracin to send them to you at the first demand which you will make to him, but which I request you to make only if circumstances require it.

I would act with much confidence, and all our measures would be much more inspiring if I had no reason to fear the enterprises which the English squadron may make on our ships. We are in need of naval succour and if we were deprived of it before the receipt of orders from Europe which we are awaiting, we might find ourselves in trouble, especially if this squadron seizes some ships from Europe which would arrive in this roadstead on the faith of the treaties.

I have the honour, etc.

C² 92, f. 204-207v^o.

From the French camp, June 13, 1756.

Sir,

Since the letter which I addressed to you recently, of which you have herewith the duplicate, we quitted the river Krishna and proceeded towards Hyderabad. The continuous rains had rendered the march very difficult and augmented the number of the sick who embarrassed us much. However, I expect to arrive in this town tomorrow where Providence has conducted me most safely through innumerable treacheries during nearly 300 koss in the midst of different people who were urged to attack me.

It appears, Sir, that the Mughals had concentrated on two objectives. The first, to recover the Four Circars, thinking that they could do

without us, in view of their so-called alliance with Balajirao. The second, the collection of the revenues of Arcot by means of, and with the succour, of the English who, according to them, prevail in this province.

Since the revolution that took place amongst us, I supported the affairs, and M. Godeheu had prescribed it to me, but with infinite pains, especially to prevent the union of Balajirao which the Mughals had been planning since a long time.

I hear that three persons have been dispatched, the first, by name Ibrahim Ali Khan, as I have written to you, to Muhammad Ali Khan ; the second, Moulavi Habibullah, to the English Governor, and Khoja Chair, to you. The latter envoy, almost from the scum of the people, has two missions, the first to give you a thousand false explanations to justify in some way their treachery, their dishonesty and their ingratitude ; the second, to inform Shah Nawaz Khan exactly of all your measures on which he will regulate his conduct. It is, Sir, the same proceeding which they adopted when I returned to the Deccan three years ago. A certain Shamrao was sent to M. Dupleix who refused to meet him and sent word to him that he had transmitted all his authority to me for the affairs of this part, adding that I was free to make peace or war, according as I found it necessary, and that it was to me that he ought to address himself. This reply (although my condition was much more difficult than it is today, as I had then neither money nor domains) was the cause of my success. It is true to say that I was impelled and sustained by the idea that the affairs of India were not disapproved in Europe, and in the contrary case, I said to myself that, being under the orders of another who represented the King and the Company, I ought to do all that he prescribed to me, convinced that there were reasons which could be a secret between the Minister and him which it was not permitted to me to penetrate, in short, that I must conduct myself according to my discretion and that I was not responsible for anything.

I have said above that the Mughals have two objectives as for us, we have four.

The first, to preserve our advantages till we receive the decision from Europe.

The second, to prevent the consequences of the measures of the Mughals with Muhammad Ali Khan and the English.

The third, to try and employ all the means to remove Shah Nawaz Khan, who has totally given himself up to Muhammad Ali Khan because of the sums he has received and those which are promised to him, I was for a long time convinced that Shah Nawaz Khan had no share in the conspiracy, as I wrote to you in my letter of the 27th April.

The fourth, to avoid cleverly participating in the troubles which I have mentioned in my last letters.

There are many remedies to all these ills, but the majority would frighten those who, as they do not know, like me, the local place and the Mughal nation, which is on its decline, will not understand the Asiatic mind with which force alone takes the place of justice.

I, therefore, confine myself, Sir, to offer you two courses. The first is to proceed straight to our Circars, to hold ourselves there steadfastly, repulse by force all attacks and watch over the security of the domains of the Company. This course is very easy; it secures the first and the last of the four objects of which I speak above.

The second course would be to hold on at Hyderabad and wait for the Nawab there, urge him or even force him to remove Shah Nawaz Khan, which step would restore his confidence in us, which the latter has led him to lose completely. This second course, which has the advantages of the first, also fulfils all the other objects. It has, however, as a drawback (which is likewise present in the first course) the risks of a war with Salabat Jang in case he would not accept our proposals. War, moreover, momentary and which has nothing frightening except the term because of the weakness of the nation and the pusillanimity of the chief.

I would be delighted, Sir, in such a critical position, to be within reach to receive your orders within twenty-four hours. But the distance is an obstacle, and in this part, I must necessarily have, as Messrs. Dupleix and Godeheu had thought at that time, orders to act according to the circumstances, without, however, being responsible for the events. Please let me know which of the two courses you accept or if you

wish to take another. Whatever it may be, you can be very sure that I shall follow it unreluctantly and exactly. In the meanwhile, if the circumstances force me, I shall decide on that which will appear to me most suitable.

You certainly realise, Sir, that my position is very different from that of the men with whom we have to deal. I have to answer for the events to the King, to the Minister, to the Company, to you and finally to myself, a principle diametrically opposed to those of the Asiatics who have not to answer to anyone for their conduct, whatever enterprises they undertake and whatever defeats they suffer. Please, Sir, make a moment's reflection on this statement to diminish my embarrassments and keep in some way abreast of them. Do not put any limits to the powers I ask from you.

14th June.

I was about to dispatch the patamar when I received your letter of the 25th May, with the duplicate of that of the 22nd April attached to it. I shall reply in detail to all the items which they contain. In the meantime, I would tell you sincerely, Sir, that some fear, which could be attributed to a military anxiety in connection with the project which you open to me, prevented me from talking to you about it. You have penetrated, like a man who is master of political affairs, the real cause which rendered our condition in the Deccan so uncertain, and which has today become so critical. The only remedy, which can be brought to it, has not escaped your penetration. The weakness of Salabat Jang exposes us to too many variations. We must fix them by giving to the Deccan a master who knows the price of our services better. What can we except from a man who pays with the most brazen ingratitude the services which we have rendered him for six years, and who will surrender to the whims of a eunuch and a vile slave after listening to the advice from a man in position. But what a prospect for a Company to which this course would present fresh troubles and frighten it, as you point it out very pointedly? But indeed what other means is there to preserve our advantages and repair the honour of the nation which the intrigues of Shah Nawaz Khan have just tarnished?

I refer for the present, Sir, to the suggestion which I have made to you and which is to force Salabat Jang to remove Shah Nawaz Khan or to press at the Court of Delhi the dispatch of a Shahzada or a naib of the Vazir or finally to move in favour of Nizam Ali in case his party prevails. However, that of Balajirao is the only one which can serve us as a guide. It is today the dominant power, not only in the Deccan but in the whole of Hindustan.

Nizam Ali has actually proceeded to Berar, his brother, Basalat Jang, is to be installed at Adoni of which the fortress has not surrendered. Salabat Jang is on the banks of the Krishna from where he sends orders to Hyderabad at the insinuations of Shah Nawaz Khan, because of his fear for him.

I have entered Hyderabad today and I am camping under the walls of this town. I shall not fail to inform you of the decision, I shall take. If I am obliged to take one before I receive your reply, it will always be, keep your mind quite at rest, Sir, that which will be most suitable to the honour of the nation and the success of the Company.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

C² 92, f. 141v^o-143v^o.

Pondicherry, June 27, 1756.

Sir,

I received your letter of the 13th instant. It has much tranquillized me on your fate when I learnt of your safe arrival at Hyderabad. I hope that rest will re-establish your sick men or at least diminish its numbers.

The envoys of Salabat Jang dispatched to the English and to Muhammad Ali Khan as well as to me, have not yet made their appearance. I have already informed you that M. de Noronha had met on his way a party carrying sarpeches which he was sending to the Governor of Madras and to Muhammad Ali Khan. He does not

speak to me of the envoy dispatched to Pondicherry. If he comes, I shall follow the same procedure with respect to him as M. Dupleix did on a similar occasion. I shall see that the reception I give him will contribute to the success of your affairs.

The Mughals have not understood their interests by breaking their connections with us assuming that we have war or peace with the English. In the first case, they will be deprived of the two objectives which they had in view, that is to say, the enjoyment of the Four Circars which we will not cede to them and the revenues of the province of Arcot which we shall share, at least I hope so, with the English, and in the second, they have taken a wrong step, which has put us at ease to withdraw from the engagements which we had entered into with them.

In the critical position in which our rupture with the Mughals puts us today, it is you alone, Sir, who can fulfil the four objectives which, in our turn, we must have and which you place before me. I cannot, therefore, but leave you the choice which you will make, according to the circumstances, of one of the two courses which you propose to me. The first, really speaking, secures our domains in which your presence would even be necessary to repress the rebels who have risen since dispatch of the orders of Salabat Jang, which he has done against his engagements with us, have reached there as you will have soon learnt. But since, you judged it proper to proceed to Hyderabad, instead of reaching Rajahmundry as quickly as possible as you had first written to me, I do not know if it would be more advantageous to wait there for the Nawab in order to resume, willy nilly, the relations with him, although in this decision there is not as much surety as in the other, as it fulfils all the objects which we may have if you have the good luck to succeed. I admit to you that I cannot help indulging in them, but don't stop at my ideas. Act according to the circumstances and as if you had to answer for your conduct only to the Minister and to the Company, and without fear of being responsible for the outcome. I am too much convinced of the good use you will make of your powers to put limits on them in the present circumstance. The forces which you may actually have under your orders, those of Salabat Jang, the news which you may receive from our concessions

whose revenues you need for the subsistence of your army, all these factors ought to decide you.

The English squadron appears to be quiet at the present moment, and I have reason to think that the preparations and the movements, which it made recently and which I imparted to you, had no other aim than its own security on, I do not know, what advice they received of the impending arrival of a French squadron, of which circumstance I wish I get the confirmation.

With regard to the project, which I suggested to you, to put in the place of Salabat Jang some other person who was more worthy of it than he and who realised, as you say, the value of our services, I am delighted that you agree with me on the necessity of this change to give to the affairs of the Deccan a solidity which they will not have so long as Salabat Jang occupies this place and without which, however, we cannot hope to preserve our advantages. But as this revolution can depend on many circumstances, we must first of all endeavour to become reconciled to Salabat Jang by forcing him to dismiss Shah Nawaz Khan, and if that is not possible, the honour and the interest of the nation demand that we should take steps for the execution of our project which could produce for us only advantages and no disadvantage. We must suppose for that purpose that we have war with the English.

I have written to M. Moracin that he had to refer to you for all the necessary information on the subject of our rights of property on the district of Condavir and also on the dependencies of Machchali-patnam, ceded to us by the Subhedars of the Deccan since the time of Nasir Jang. I request you to communicate to him all that you may know on this subject and co-operate with him on all the matters which may relate to the security of our concessions. I am going to send him a detachment of 100 Europeans instead of 75 and 50 topas by the shop Le St. Contest which will leave in a few days' time.

I have the honour, etc.

H 4328—31a

C² 92, f. 143v^o-144.

Pondicherry, July 5, 1756.

Sir,

I send you herewith the duplicate of my last letter of June 27. Since then, nothing fresh has taken place here.

At last M. Law has decided to join you. He requested me to sign an order for him so that the field-allowance which may be due to him as a Captain from his departure of the year till his return should be paid to him. Regulate it as you judge it proper and consistent with the arrangements which you have made. If the circumstances oblige you to retire to our districts, I think that you can reduce to half the salary of all the officers of your army whose number should even be reduced.

I have the honour, etc.

C² 92, f. 207v^o-208v^o.

From the French camp under Hyderabad, June 26, 1756.

Sir,

The misfortune and the revolution have reached their acme. To crown his treachery Shah Nawaz Khan has written to the zamindars of the Four Circars and Condavir forbidding them from recognising us as masters and paying the revenues. He did not stop at that when he knew that I had camped before Hyderabad, he sent all his Maratha cavalry against us. They are very near, and hostilities will soon begin. I shall not neglect anything to preserve the reputation of the French name and of the King's subjects. You can sufficiently imagine that my difficulties are countless, nay resourceless. However, Sir, if you could send me 200 picked men without delay, when once we arrive in our domains, we will be in the strongest position there.

Inspite of this bad stroke of fortune, Hindustan and the Deccan still seek us. Nizam Ali seeks my friendship. The Vazir who collected 90 lakhs during the campaign and whom the nephew of the late Nawab of Bengal offers a crore to obtain its sanad, the Vazir, I repeat, on the receipt of the letters I sent to the Emperor in your name has offered you an elephant worth Rs. 10,000 which he sends you accompanied with 12 Gulbedars: these are men who hold the moce in front of the Emperor. If he comes, I shall receive him in your name. The knavery of Shah Nawaz Khan and the ingratitude of the Nawab thwart all our prosperity. To confirm Balajirao in their party and prevent him from uniting with us, they have also ceded to him recently the town of Barhanpur and the fortress of Ahmednagar, a stronghold between Poona and Aurangabad. However, Holkar presses us to execute the project of our alliance for the affairs of Hindustan. For the last three days and nights I have not closed my eyes. It is one o'clock after midnight, and I cannot say to you anything more.

I have the honour to remain etc.

P. S.—The only means of re-establishing our affairs is force. In the meanwhile, you must, Sir, dismiss with disgrace the envoy of Shah Nawaz Khan, by threatening this man with all your indignation of which you will make him feel the effects shortly. I know this nation. This is the real manner of behaving with it. Otherwise it despises you.

C² 92, f. 208v^o-209v^o.

From the French camp under Hyderabad,
July 5, 1756.

Sir,

Since my last letter the revolution against us has reached its last stage by a series of acts of treachery and dishonesty, of which the detail would be too long. The vanguard of the army of the Nawab, composed of the Maratha cavalry, has arrived to oppose my return to our districts, as I had proposed to do. I had opened with them a

negotiation which, the imprudence of some of our men, who sought inopportunity to distinguish themselves, has broken. There were three men killed in this skirmish. This feeble advantage, so far unheard of, elated them. Unable to set out, because of the defection of the Sipahs and the desertion of the servants and the waggoners who draw the artillery, at the risk of exposing the honour, the domains and even the nation to an evident peril, I took the decision to enter a quarter of the town of Hyderabad which is known as Charmahal. It is a sufficiently vast space enclosed by a simple wall. It is there that I am besieged and blocked by all the forces which Shah Nawaz Khan could collect. I am writing to the Nawab that I am not his enemy, that since he has closed for me the passages and that I cannot withdraw except with dishonour and loss, I have cantoned myself in the town which I have spared and which will not suffer if he withdraws his troops and leaves the road free for me, to return honourably to our districts. I enumerate all the services I have rendered in the Deccan and the respect which he owes to the nation, etc.

In the meanwhile, I implore you in the name of all the French who are here, to save them and give us a prompt succour by sending without delay 300 picked men and some sipahs with the order to M. de Moracin to dispatch them without any baggage. I have still money to maintain the 400 men, who are with me, for a month. When these funds are exhausted, I shall sell my silverware, my effects and even my linen to hold on till the arrival of your succour, unless some fresh misfortune destroys us. I am writing to M. de Moracin to send me 100 Europeans with 300 or 400 sipahs and two guns as quickly as possible. There is no time to lose.

I am sure, Sir, that actually these conditions are favourable so that the detachment will take only two days to proceed to Machchalipatnam from Pondicherry. If there is none, you must please dispatch it by land. If you make a prompt dispatch, the succour would soon reach us. I request you to give its command to M. Law.

I have the honour to remain etc.

C^a 92, f. 209v^o-210v^o.

From the French camp under Hyderabad, July 6, 1756.
Six O'clock in the evening.

Sir,

Yesterday after the dispatch of the letter which I wrote to you and of which you have herewith the duplicate, a small action took place with the Marathas in which they suffered a little loss, but there was none on our part. I am besieged from outside and inside, and the succours must make great haste. Allow me, Sir, to repeat to you my entreaties. The moments are precious.

This morning I received your letter of the 22nd ultimo. The combinations for the arrangement to be made with the Vazir and Balajirao are accurately mentioned in it, and I am delighted to see, Sir, that you are perfectly seized of what is proper to be done for the weal of the affairs of this part. But at present, we must think of retiring from here and proceed to our domains, to your intentions, which always have been mine. The succour, which I ask from you and which is so necessary for us, will enable us to go there with all dispatch and act according to the circumstances.

At the first moment of respite, I shall reply to your letters in greater details and supply you with the information which you seek on some items of the last letter.

Send me succour, Sir. I repeat it to you in the name of all the subjects of the King who are here. Think of our critical situation. There cannot be a more unfortunate one. Offer us your arms and rest assured of the sincere and respectful attachment with which I have the honour remain, etc.

C² 92, f. 144-145.

Pondicherry, July 19, 1756.

Sir,

I am receipt of your three letters dated the 26th June and the 5th and 6th instant. I am very much grieved to learn from this letter about the condition to which you are reduced by the treachery of Salabat Jang. The last two letters reached me on the same day. I immediately made preparations to send you the succour, and as I was at the same time informed of a considerable embarkation of troops which the English are making on their squadron which is anchored at Cuddalore and which, it is reported, is ready to start, I have decided to send to M. Moracin 400 European troops instead of 200 sipahees which I at first intended to send to him. We do not know the destination of the English squadron. We have reason to fear that this expedition is intended for Salabat Jang. But as for me I think that it is going to Bengal to the succour of Calcutta which, according to reports, is besieged by the Nawab. Besides, I am communicating to M. Moracin my doubts on this subject so that he should be on his guard.

The troops, which I send him, embark on the ship *La Favorite* with 200 sipahees and another small detachment of 50 Europeans intended for Bengal. He has orders not to lose a moment to send them to you. I have entrusted their command to M. Saubinet. But I am asking M. de Moracin to give it to M. Law in case he has not yet left, and supposing that he has done so with the 100 men embarked on the ship *Le St. Contest*, to write to him to stop at the spot where he will receive his letter to await the fresh succour which should reach him under the orders of M. Saubinet who will remain Adjutant of the detachment after the union of the two detachments.

I write to M. Moracin to send this succour without baggage as you point out to me.

If you can beat Salabat Jang, you must not lose the occasion to make him repent for his ingratitude. But don't compromise anything.

It is better to abandon the Mughals to their disputes and their unfortunate fate, and return to our concessions to no more think except of the preservation of our concessions.

As soon as you are relieved and out of danger, I solicit you to send back M. Saubinet to Machchalipatnam with 200 men including the two platoons of grenadiers which he takes away with him to return here either by sea, if it is possible or by land. I am consequently writing to M. Moracin.

M. Saubinet has solicited me to give him the rank of a Adjutant in your army whilst he stays there. I shall not prescribe to you anything positive on this matter. I would, however, be delighted if you could procure him this satisfaction. He has not yet carried out other functions in India since his arrival, and I am convinced that you will be satisfied with him.

I remain, etc.

C² 92, f. 210v^o-223.

Hyderabad, August 28, 1756.

Sir,

I doubt very much whether the letters, which I wrote to you during the trouble, have reached you. This one, while communicating to you the news of the re-establishment of peace, will offer you the detail of everything that has taken place.

I think that I have informed you previously that as all the zamindars, palegars, etc., had received the order to thwart our march, I was obliged to employ force only against a single one at the approaches of the Krishna. It was not without some loss; M. de la Martiniere was killed in it. From there, I arrived safely at Hyderabad on the 14th June, where I first applied myself to make all the preparations to leave without delay so as to reach our districts.

The sipahees who had any received their half salary in the course of the campaign, demanded their dues. It was necessary to find cash money from the sahuikars through caresses and threats. Several days passed and this soldiery, when satisfied, became bolder and demanded advances, which threw me into fresh embarrassments. This example became contagious; the mutiny spread to the rest of the natives attached to our service who demanded arrears. However, I had sent a person by name Romi Khan, who usually did our house-work and our errands, to the Governor of the town to obtain from him a passport for a few thousand lamballis¹. There arose between these two men a rather hot wordy dispute which ended in the death of both. This event created a great stir in Hyderabad which was, however, calmed down earlier than I had imagined it.

The Marathas of the army of the Nawab, who by the blackest treason, had been dispatched to surprise us at the crossing of the Krishna and next to close to us all retreat to the districts, in fact arrived on the 26th of June numbering about 6000. I put my camp safe against attack by giving an order to occupy all the avenues, which

1. Lamans or Vanjaris.

step divided the whole detachment and kept it continuously on the alert. There was no hostility for some days and the Maratha chiefs apparently agreed to a negotiation the aim of which was to assure our march to the districts. The affair was almost concluded when a slight setback, which we received on the 30th, broke it completely.

M. Mayer, Lieutenant of the hussars, had order to go in search of and drive away the foragers. This officer, very short-sighted and carried away by his ardour, engaged himself inopportunely with a corps of cavalry by which he was surrounded. Another picket of ours went out to extricate him and also advanced a little too far without order. The advantage was entirely on the side of the Marathas. The rest of the hussars and the French cavalry mounted their horses ; the prudence of M. Deiz rallied the pickets and re-established order ; his brave countenance stopped the enemy. But it had seen our soldiers running away before it. M. Mayer died in the action with a hussar and a dragoon. Besides, we had 28 men disabled, six horses killed or captured. Elated by this slight success, the Marathas became hard to negotiate. Finally, on the 4th of July, they explained themselves unequivocally and proposed conditions so onerous and so dishonourable that they could not be accepted.

The same day I assembled the principal officers to whom I communicated the proposals of the Marathas. We decided to set out in the face of this cavalry, greedy of plunder and whose munitions and equipment could be easily captured by our troops. The big number of the sick who had be protected from the fury of these barbarians, the general defection of the sipahees, of the waggoners, servants, etc., who did not want to run the risk of too burdensome a march, too long to cover and interrupted by the enemy, these considerations and all that I have written to you, Sir, in my last letters, and the desire to avoid war and the troubles in the domains of the Company, determined me to enter the Charminar, of which I secured the possession on the very day, and orders were given to have the army march in files on the next day.

Charminar is a big enclosure at the extremity of the town of Hyderabad on the banks of the river ; four big building on the four faces of a vast basin furnish sufficient lodging. The walls of this enclosure are

sufficiently high but weak as is usually the enclosure of a garden. On 5th July in the morning, the big artillery, the munitions, equipment and generally the whole camp marched to occupy this spot. However, the gates, which defended the approaches of the camp, held firmly. The Marathas, who could not prevent this march, came and spread themselves in the plain and charge the rearguard. They were received with gunshots and disappeared very quickly. It was only after they had all disappeared that the army fell back and entered the Charminar at night-fall. A part of the sipahees, who had withdrawn, came and rejoined their company. The majority of the men attached to the artillery followed their example. But this reversion of attachment and goodwill did not last long.

The next day I myself visited all the quarters. I occupied a neighbouring hill which commanded the town and the Charminar. I charged M. Bellier to make an examination of the arsenals. Hyder Jang laboured to bring rice, and grains necessary for feeding the animals. I sent round men to reassure the inhabitants by giving them to understand that their life and property did not run any risk and that they could stay in their houses without fear of being disturbed.

I had not cantoned in this quarter of Hyderabad to remain idle. About 5 o'clock in the evening 200 Europeans, 6 guns and 1000 sipahees went out under the orders of M. Dupassage, senior. Hardly had this unit appeared in the plain than some marauding cavalymen noticed it and ran to spread an alarm in the camp from which they took to flight in disorder; we lost all hope of making contact with it and took the decision to return.

The examination of the arsenals was fruitful; we found in various store-houses a quantity of gun-powder and pig-lead which served to make bullets of different calibres. Several noblemen, who were my friends, and Pathan merchants had indicated to me the places where I found the provisions. I also ordered to be brought to Charminar, the whole artillery which was found mounted, less to use it than to deprive the enemy of it. As I did not wish to give it any respite, I sent out this very night Messrs. Maïssin and D'Eguerty with 50 Europeans, 300 sipahees and a gun to surprise a body of infantry and cavalry, camped in a garden at the opposite extremity of the

town. This expedition, conducted with prudence and valour which characterise the man who commanded it, was a complete success. This post was surprised and carried away, and the booty was the share of the sipahis.

M. Dupassage, senior, functioning as an engineer, noted various places along the walls to raise platforms and place the musketry there. The hill that dominates the town and Charminar, is an old palace of the Kings of Golkonda. This edifice, supported by several rows of vaults over each other, is falling into ruins. Open on all sides, it gives access to Charminar by the most frequented road in the town. I charged M. de Noirfow to entrench this important post and block all its avenues. The activity and the attentions of this officer, supported by M. Raymond, commissary of this army, surmounted all the obstacles which continuous rains, scarcity and the dilatoriness of the workers brought to this work, which was soon in a state to receive four guns and hold behind its trenches more than 500 men.

As the same time, provisions were accumulating. I got a big storehouse formed with them. The people in the countryside brought forage and provisions. Abundance of all the articles necessary for the subsistence of men and animals was always maintained.

To hold the enemy continuously in check, I sent out M. Dupassage at the head of a detachment similar to that which he had led on the previous occasion. But the Marathas, after some gun salvos, took to flight, and the retreat of this detachment was carried out successfully and in good order. The Marathas, tired of so many repeated assaults, thought it advisable to remove their camp behind the fortress of Golkonda, that is to say, to a place nearly 4 koss from Hyderabad. A certain chief, by name Khandagle, camped on the bank of the river about half the way. M. Brandt, with his German unit numbering 120 men and 500 sipahees, went out without a gun to surprise him. He very cleverly concealed his march from the enemy which had several advance-guards. After crossing the river opposite his camp, he pounced upon him. The surprise would have been complete if the sipahees were not in too much hurry to open fire. The booty was fairly large for them. As M. Brandt had always kept his troops in good order, horses, animals of all kinds, arms, trappings, plates and

dishes were carried as booty by the victors. Khandagle lost his kettle-drums and joined to this disgrace that of fleeing on foot in the direction of the French. There was neither loss of life nor any person wounded.

I allowed the troops to rest, as they were fatigued with so many sorties. Moreover, bad weather did not permit us to attempt an expedition. However, the number of the enemy was increasing day to day. Shah Nawaz Khan had called to his aid of the Nawab of Kurnool, several other fauzdars, zamindars and pategars from the south and the north of the Krishna. He also imagined that the fouzdar of Cuddapa and Muhammad Ali Khan would join him.

Although I was convinced that the enemy was unable to undertake any attack on Charminar, as it was well stocked with guns and as I had the promise of several chiefs, especially the Pathans of Kurnool that they would not undertake any enterprise against me, I, however, did not neglect any precautions which military vigilance requires in such case—scrupulous guard at all the gates, frequent rounds during the night, the troops ready to take up arms at the first signal, half of the officers commanding sleeping dressed. It appeared that this rigour was partly superfluous in respect of the enemy in front. But experience has shown in other parts of India that security, founded on the valour of the French and the timidity of the Asiatics can have fatal consequences.

A letter which the Vazir wrote to me through the channel of the sahu-kars was intercepted, and it is reported that he had written to me to hoist his flag in Hyderabad. I was at the same time solicited by Balajirao to hoist that of the Raja of Satara.

However, Jaffar Ali Khan, divan of Salabat Jang, arrived in the enemy camp with about 3000 cavalry, some infantry and 20 guns. There was first of all a talk in the council of the enemy chiefs to occupy another quarter of the town. On this information, I seized a strong high edifice called Char Minarets or the Four Towers, which, as it was situated in the centre of the town, dominates it. I got two guns mounted on it. Messrs. Paris and Beytier took all the pains in this regard and their assiduity could easily carry out this manoeuvre.

There was no place left for the enemy to occupy favourable position. The principal Mosque, being within reach of the mosque of the Four Towers and the new fort, was no longer a safe post.

On the 11th at night-fall, I dispatched M. Guyonnet to Machchali-patnam to inform M. de Mbracin of my situation and press the departure of the reinforcement which I was awaiting. He found in this commandant the spirit of a patriot ready to do anything for the general affairs and the sentiments of a sincere friend with respect to me. On the next day, I sent out 50 Europeans and 500 sipahees under the orders of M. Brandt to search a big garden surrounded by walls, half way from the camp where the enemies came to spend the night in bivouac and from where he expelled them.

Muzaffar Khan, who had a short time earlier entered the service of the Nawab, disclosed that he was not far from rejoining that of the French. But I soon noticed the treacherous and unreliable genius of this perfidious man. This negotiation, which was broken, was followed by another more interesting one. On the 13th a man arrived dispatched by Mir Muhammad Hussein Khan, Diwan of the Emperor. This envoy, who had left without the knowledge of Shah Nawaz Khan, was charged to deliver me letters from his master and from the Nawab and to confirm to me orally what they contained. They suggested a project of pacification, quite simple but the execution of which was difficult. As the Nawab had agreed only in spite of himself to the war which his minister was making with the French, the Diwan of the Emperor proposed to urge him to take up a firm attitude, which, while bringing about the fall of the minister and his authority, would put an end to the troubles and destroy the conspiracy against the French. But the difficulty was to find a man capable of administering the affairs of this vast Government.

This likelihood of reconciliation made no change in the precautions and the assaults against the enemy. M. de Grond went out at the head of 40 Europeans and 500 sipahees. He advanced into the plain where he spent the night. The continuous rains suspended all the hostilities for a few days.

Jaffar Ali Khan awaited in his camp the arrival of Muzaffar Khan who was to direct all the operations of war. This traitor, who had

imposed on the Council of the Nawab by the braggings which are so usual with him, had sold himself to Shah Nawaz Khan.

While entering the Charmahal, I had left at the house of the Gochemal a corps of sipahees to whom I had entrusted its guard. The fidelity of the commandant became suspect and still more of his soldiers. I had, therefore, to use a stratagem to relieve this post. I sent out M. Langlais at the head of a detachment of Europeans and sipahees with a gun, as if to go in search of the enemy. At the same time I gave orders to the sipahees of the Gochemal to reinforce the detachment of M. Langlais. It was the first spark of the desertion of this soldiery. At the arrival of Muzaffar Khan, it increased in intensity. His unique talent is to corrupt the troops and that is the only harm he did to us.

Three hundred Abyssinians and many Arabs whom I had requested M. Le Verrier to raise at Surat, had left Aurangabad to join me. I had proposed to give them the muskets of the sipahees whose fidelity I rightly suspected. This succour failed me, Janoji, Maratha chief, had orders to fight them and stop them. They fought several times as brave men, but as they were badly equipped, and even a part of them without muskets, they were dispersed, killed or captured.

Bad weather, as I have said it, had prevented us from making our appearance before the enemy. It was to be presumed that tired of so much vigilance, they would not resist rest and that we could profit by it to its disadvantage. I was not mistaken in my conjecture. I charged M. Riboux to attack and kidnap one Abubakar Khan who commanded the enemy's artillery and infantry. The detachment was composed of 110 Europeans, 600 sipahees and 3 guns and fouguettes, of which we had found a sufficient quantity in the store-houses of the town. M. Riboux arrived in the vicinity of the camp towards half past twelve at night. He attacked the enemy without giving it in the time to take its bearings, and after three fourths of an hour of a sufficiently lively firing on both sides, the enemy took to flight abandoning the artillery from which our men carried away three guns captured or killed all the bullocks. This officer, informed that two of his guns were not working any more because the rammers had been carried away by the firing of the guns, thought of withdrawing. The citadel of

Golkonda opened a big fire with its big guns without loss or accident to us. This expedition was conducted by M. Riboux with the capacity and valour which he has shown on so many other occasions. However, the enemy spread the report that it proposed to raise batteries to cannonade Charmahal. I sent out the majority of the officers with 50 men to go and reconnoitre the the ground, observe the routes and the turnings so as to march with certainty and carry away the guns and destroy the batteries.

On the 27th Muzaffar Khan arrived at the enemy's camp. I gave orders for a sortie the same night which bad weather prevented. The desertion of the sipahees, through his intrigues, began with an entire company with the captain at the head. On this day a detachment of Europeans, numbering 30, and 300 sipahees, supported by two guns, went to spend the night at the entrance to the plain at the foot of the hills, within cannon reach of the quarter.

On the 30th, I had information that the enemy was preparing for a general action. Towards noon, all the hills were occupied by its infantry. I sent out 250 Europeans, 1000 sipahees and six guns. Messrs. Dupassage and Riboux occupied the two hills which dominated the plains, the second more advanced towards the enemy. Our sipahees began to dislodge it from the hills. The musketry fire on both sides was lively. I observed from the top of a bastion the movements on the hills and ordered a twelve-pounder to be fired which obliged the enemy to hide itself. Its infantry, forced to cede, descended into the plain which it could do only with a loss. The Maratha cavalry, which had begun to flutter about, partly disappeared. That of the Mughals debouched and pounced in good order on our sipahees scattered in the plain, pushed afterwards towards the gate of M. Riboux where it was received with a discharge of European musketry supported by four guns charged with cartridges which put it into disorder. M. Dupassage, senior, who himself operated his cannon with coolness and bravoury which was known of him, crossed the fire of M. Riboux who had on his left M. Brandt who advanced and finally put the enemy's cavalry to flight. However, on a false information that our munitions were exhausted, it returned to attack again. But this second attempt did it more damage than the first. It gave up this time

irretrievably, leaving the plain covered with men and horses. Two six-pounders, which Muzaffar Khan had brought, fired from a distance and so badly that none was reached by them. Night alone put an end to the battle which started from half past two in the afternoon. The enemies left us master of the field on which they had about 400 men killed or wounded, 125 horses killed and several wounded.

On our side, three were six-sipahees killed, thirty wounded, four Europeans had slight contusions. 35,000 cartridges were used in this action, and 900 gunshots were fired. The ardour of the soldier was also sustained by the good conduct of the officers

From this day I took the decision to make the sorties less frequent, either to save the munitions or not expose myself to a treachery of the sipahees, having got the information that they had given their word to the emissaries of Muzaffar Khan to desert with their arms when they would be in the plain.

At the end of this action, I received letters from M. Law who announced to me his arrival at Vijaywada with the detachment, a news which crowned my joy but which was consequently a source of overwhelming anxieties and alarms for me.

On the 1st August, the Divan of the Emperor arrived at Golkonda to fix, it was reported, the camp of the Nawab. He was a witness to the incidents of the 30th July and gave an account of it to Salabat Jang who came two days later with the rest of the army. A big council was then held on the present situation of affairs. The Nawab, kept under delusion by false reports, allowed himself to be convinced that the ruin of the French was certain, if they were faced with some action similar to the previous one which, he was told, had been disastrous to them. Several plans were proposed, the execution of which was found difficult and perilous for the attackers. Finally, there was a lot of discussion on making a general assault on Charmahal. I was informed exactly of all these deliberations, and although I was convinced of the impossibility of the operation in question, I, however, ordered the neighbouring houses to be pulled down which I had till then spared in order not to alienate or ill-dispose the inhabitants; I paid them the cost. But this assault, as I had foreseen, did not take place.

On the 10th August, M. Law, after a march of 12 koss, met the troops of the enemy sent to fight him and oppose his passage, at a distance of about 20 koss from Hyderabad. At the moment of the attack, his detachment was weakened by the desertion of Muhammad Khan and his sipahees numbering 400. This traitor, who formed the vanguard, joined Muzaffar Khan with whom he had come to terms since a long time. The treachery of Muhammad Khan, very far from abating the ardour of our troops, served to animate them. They received the enemy with this order and this discipline which we owe to the cares and the indefatigable activity of M. Saubinet, Major at Pondicherry. The cannon and the musketry put it to flight on three occasions with a heavy loss of men and horses. These various actions prolonged the battle till the night-fall, when the enemies returned to their camp which was only at half a koss from the battle-field. In this battle one soldier was killed, 4 wounded and about a dozen sipahees killed or wounded. M. Law gave rest to his detachment, exhausted by a forced march and quite a long battle.

The news of the defection of Muhammad Khan caused me many anxieties; my apprehension, very well-founded was that his example would be imitated by other sipahees. The enemies triumphed at it and already proclaimed the complete ruin of the detachment. However, M. Law sent his men for reconnoitering the enemy camp. He made his arrangements for the attack with four divisions one hour before day-break. It was made; the enemy took to flight in disorder abandoning its equipment. Our troops passed the day in the village of Gaurampally which they had seized. This advantage was a little tempered by the loss of all the baggage, provisions, etc., which the drivers abandoned. The impossibility in which I was to send provisions and munitions to this detachment by roads occupied by an army of 18,000 men, threw me into the greatest despair. Moreover, I knew that the enemy sent reinforcements every day. I ordered a sortie to be made in order to force it to retain its troops. It succeeded; a small separate camp was burnt after which our troops retired without loss.

I received the news that M. Law had arrived at Maliapur, 12 koss away from Hyderabad. This day was not less glorious for our troops than the previous one. There was only one battle during the whole

march which was long and painful. The rearguard was often attacked with an unusual fury. But M. de Saubinet, who moved there, supported by two platoons frustrated the efforts of the enemy during the whole march. Our troops, accustomed to manoeuvres, did wonders under him. There were two men killed and three wounded; M. Eveillon, of the number of the latter, died some time afterwards. The conduct of the officers on these two occasions deserves all praises. But the third march covered them all with glory in this part of Asia. The rest which they needed and the time necessary to repair two guns forced M. Law to make two halts at Maliapur. Scarcity of provisions was complete; desertion was taking place among the sipahees who fled in platoons. They asked me succour in provisions and artillery which I could not give. The uncertainty in which I was, whether they would leave Maliapur and by what route they would leave it, did not permit me to undertake anything except with an evident risk to lose everything. The pass, which they had to cross was occupied by the enemy and obstructed by trenches and felled trees. M. Law had another road searched, and the whole day was employed in finding it and making it secure. However, the traitor Muhammad Khan was inspiring the whole (enemy) army to which he promised the entire ruin of ours. From the camp of Golkonda, fresh troops left as, I have said it, to repair the losses of the enemy. At Hyderabad, I left the greatest alarms. At night-fall M. Guyonnet arrived after immense fatigues having marched for almost twenty-four hours by unfrequented roads. He confirmed to me all that I had learnt about the deplorable state of the detachment. But he assured me at the same time that neither the fatigues nor hunger nor the number of the enemy nor the difficulties of the roads had intimidated the soldiers whom the example and the valour of the officers encouraged. Nevertheless, I admit that thousand times I wished that this detachment had not left.

Finally, before day-break on the 15th, M. Law, inspite of so many obstacles which were multiplied, started. The officers and soldiers performed wonders of valour on this day. A special protection of the Providence saved them in passes filled with enemies and at the crossing of a flooded river. M. d' Harambure, who commanded the rear-guard, repulsed the enemy several times with this valour and self-control which are peculiar to him. He facilitated the crossing of the river and

always held the enemies in check. A torrential rain augmented the difficulties of the roads; in many places, unpassable because of the rocks and thickets. The innumerable detachments of the enemies, succeeded each other. A superhuman effort was necessary to avoid complete destruction; and only Frenchmen could do it. After the crossing of the river which was done in the face of and in spite of the efforts of the enemies, M. de Saubinet formed a hollow square of our troops and they marched in this order as far as Aidnagar at a distance of 4 koss from Hyderabad where M. Law arrived about 4 o'clock in the evening after 17 hours of march and battles during which the enemies made unheard of efforts to vanquish him. M. d' Harambure continued to hold the post at the rearguard which the enemy attacked furiously. There are no words sufficiently expressive to point before your eyes the prudence and intrepidity of M. Law, supported by brave officers whom he commanded, especially by Messrs. d' Harambure and de Saubinet. It is not rash valour, which ignores or does not notice the danger, but it is the very sight of the perils which finds resources in fortitude and knows how to communicate it to the soldiers. A memorable day of which the glory is due to these gentlemen who obliged the combined forces of the Deccan to yield and surrender by the confession of their defeat, a homage to the superiority of French arms. It would indeed be the moment, Sir, to employ your good offices to see that the Court and the Company recognise the services of poor Law by the dispatch of the Cross which he has so justly deserved.

The enemy admits that it has lost about 3000 men and 800 horses on this day, which cost us two officers (Messrs. de Montreuil and Grillon) 29 soldiers and 62 wounded, the majority slightly.

Hardly was I informed of the arrival of our troops at Hydenagar than I dispatched 140 Europeans, 1000 sipahees, 6 guns, 20 camels charged with provisions under the orders of M. Riboux. I also dispatched towards the camp of Golkonda a detachment to prevent the enemy from sending fresh succour against our troops. M. Riboux found no one in the way. The enemies, disheartened by so much resistance and losses, no more thought of disturbing the French whom they considered as invincible. The provisions were distributed

and quite harassed as they were, they started at 4 o'clock in the morning to proceed to Hyderabad where they finally arrived without firing a shot, carrying all the wounded men with them. Hardly did the detachment enter the town when a dromedary came to my camp on behalf of the Nawab to seek peace from me and assure me that he had given orders to stop the hostilities. I replied that I shall not raise any obstacle in the re-establishment of peace, that the army of the Nawab could do all that it could, that my troops had entered the town and that it did not fear it.

However, the negotiations were resumed with zeal, and the letters which I had addressed to the Nawab or which he had written to me and which the cabal, which was opposed to us, had indeed intercepted, finally reached us. In order to protect myself against the Asiatic treacheries. I, first of all, required that the various chiefs of the troops and noblemen of the army, should come to see me and stand guarantee for the safety of my interview with the Nawab and Shah Nawaz Khan. All the terms were accepted through the mediation of the Divan of the Emperor who himself came to my camp and put an end to all hesitation. Although I was assured by the chiefs of the army that the Nawab had given strict orders and taken precautions, so that there should be no disturbance,, I however went to this interview fully armed and in a position to create awe about me. It passed off quietly. The talks were short but affectionate, and they talked about the past only to say that all must be forgotten. They are preparing new paravanas and destroy everywhere by fresh letters the impression created by those which were written against us.

I would have profited by these fortunate circumstances to put into execution such a solid plan to remove Shah Nawaz Khan. But several reasons led me to prefer the path of negotiation to succeed in it. I have not yet taken any decision on the course I shall follow to march shortly or subsequently to our districts. If the embarrassments of war have ended they have left me in financial ones, which are not trifling. I have to clear up the labyrinth of the arrears of our officers, the debts and the losses. I am agrieved to see that it is impossible for me to repair those suffered by the officers of the detachment of M. Law. They hope, Sir,

(and I associate myself with them in their request to you) that you will kindly have consideration for them.

This is, Sir, the story of a revolution (which costs much to the glory and the interests of the Nawab who was involved in it only out of weakness) and the detail of a blocus of nearly two and a half months during which the troops have endured the greatest fatigues and have continuously shown the best will, which was maintained by the zeal and the excellent conduct of the officers.

I owe every gratitude to M. de Moracin who, during these critical circumstances, has displaced the spirit of a zealous patriot and a faithful friend to a point of stripping himself to furnish me a detachment before the succour led by M. de Saubinet had arrived.

The happy end of this war is chiefly due to you, Sir, You have pulled out the army of the Deccan from the precipice in which treachery had plunged it. The promptness with which you dispatched the succour, the choice you made of the officers and of the troops have saved the affairs of the nation and given a new lustre to its glory.

I have the honour to remain, etc.

True copy.

Duval De Leyrit

C² 92, f. 145-149.

Pondichery, September 19, 1756.

Sir,

I received your letter of the 28th ultimo. I was already informed from different channels of the victories which we won and the happy situation in which you are now with respect to the Mughals. But the detail in the form of diary you give me, finally convinces me and crowns my joy. Yes, Sir, I am inexpressibly satisfied, and I now enjoy the real pleasure for having taken the decision to send a strong succour which was all the more necessary for you because of the conduct which the Mughals and the Marathas adopted. It is quite clear that they had sworn your ruin and that of all the Frenchmen who could not have escaped their fury. What a stroke, great Gods! and what misfortunes would have resulted from it!

I begin by expressing to you my joy at the excellent conduct and firmness which you displayed, and I would not hesitate to shower praises on you, if these actions did not speak more highly than all that I could say to you. In a word, I think that there is no Frenchman who would desire to have had occasions which offered themselves and which you turned to account with so much wisdom, bravery and prudence. All your men also deserve praises, and there is not single one to whom I was not delighted to give them individually. Assure them on my behalf of the feelings of esteem which their valour justly demands, and of my desire that fresh occasions may favour the longing they have to acquire glory and fortune. I announced the happy news to the colony with several gun-salutes and the singing of the Te Deum. Every one as a good citizen participated in this event which cannot but immortalise the French name in India.

I pass on to our actual situation. Your present condition, Sir, totally changes the complexion of interests which occupy us and attach us to the Mughals for a long time. Their ingratitude has been revealed, the treachery and perfidy are exposed in the greatest high, and our forces alone maintain us today with them. This situation, critical and advantageous at the same time, procures us the means to finally respond to the spirit prevailing in France and of which you have

been informed previously by M. Godeheu. Let us not allow the occasion to slip, let us profit by it and make use of the favourable outcome which providence appears to have prepared for us. We even owe it the actions of grace. For a long time you as well as I have been admitting how important it is that we should think of sufficing for ourselves, and your last letters fully emphasize the necessity to retire to our districts. Here is the moment, Sir, and I hasten to repeat to you what I wrote to you in my letter of 19th July of which you have not yet acknowledged to me the receipt. I join herewith its duplicate. I, therefore, resolve to renew to you the decision which we must take. Return, Sir, with all our men to our districts, your presence is necessary and ought to contribute to set good order and a form of administration which finally assure its proprietorship and the collection of the funds for the Company. I am not aware of the conditions of peace which you have made with Salabat Jang. But I am already convinced, that they will make no change in our project of the return (to our districts). The arrangements which you must have made with him and other interested parties ought to have as their aim the continuity of an alliance between them and us, the promises and the manner of friendship ought not to be neglected in them. But once again nothing ought to stop us at their court, and the inflexibility on our part on this item ought to replace the sincere attachment which we have for them. I, however, think that we ought always to appear to be devoted to them and even ready to act for them but all that from a distance and through negotiation. The example is striking and we must profit by it.

I am impatient to know what form of Government this return of ours is going to create in the Deccan, and I am very certain that it will be the epoch and surely the origin of great events. You can foresee them, and I do not hesitate to assure you that I desire that you could contribute in these last moments to prepare them in a such manner that they never become harmful to us. But let it be, Sir, on conditions which do not bind us to any thing and defer taking any resolution on this subject until I am informed of how the matter stands. I realise that all this may embarrass you and prevent your return, but once again nothing must stop it, and I renounce any other consideration. This is the only advice that is left to me to offer to

you in case your reconciliation absolutely requires that we should give fresh pledges of our friendship for Salabat Gang. Leave with him a simple detachment of 100 men of French troops, I consent to it if you foresee that this small number could suffice and that there is no risk to run. It will be intended for his protection and will take step for or against the Mughals only on the orders which it will receive from you as the circumstances require it. This detachment, in case you cannot dispense with leaving it, ought to be commanded by a prudent man whose experience combined with much kindness and firmness prevent any fresh trouble. M. le Chevalier Dupassage, senior, combines these talents and I think that you cannot make a better choice. As for other officers which it would be advisable to still leave there, I leave you free to designate those whom you will judge proper. This course (I do say if it is necessary) offers me one consideration which is not to be neglected. By remaining with the subhdar of the Deccan, it can prevent him from allying himself with the English who, if we have war in Europe, will surely seek all the means to harm us here. But could they do it? Our success is bound to prepare still more certain ones for us and their misfortunes will reduce them perhaps finally to diminish their arrogance. If our arms are victorious, they will humiliated on all sides.

Besides, Sir, the above project is subject to circumstances in which you will find yourself, and your knowledge combined with your prudence set my mind at rest to such a point that I continue to wish only to share with you the satisfaction of gloriously terminating the affairs which occupy and fix the attention of Europe and of Asia.

Please let me hear, Sir, from you on all these points as often as possible. Since the 6th July, I have only received your letters of the 28th August. Let me know if you have written me others and in this case, send me copies of them.

I am very sorry, Sir, that you have to employ the channel of negotiation to avenge yourself of the traitor Shah Nawaz Khan. I would have desired that in the conflict he, as also the perfidious Jaffar Ali Khan could have served as an example to posterity. These two wretches are the perpetrators of the reverse which we were on the point of experiencing, and yet we cannot dread them too much.

One is never safe with such enemies, however sincere appears the reconciliation. As for Muzafar Khan and Muhammad Khan, I leave them to you. These wretches ought to be the fresh victims of our vengeance.

Herewith, Sir, is the statement of the demands which the officers of the detachment of M. Law have made to me to compensate them for the losses of their baggage during the route. According to the assessment, it amounts to Rs. 15,695. I very heartily consent that you should make them the repayment for it from the first funds which you might receive. It is impossible for me to do it here, and I cannot tell you what my embarrassment is, as I have no news from Europe since the month of November.

You must have seen from my letter of the 9th July that my intention is that M. Saubinet should return here as early as possible with 200 soldiers which I sent you, including the two platoons of grenadiers. I continue to insist on this return, and now that you are at ease, I solicit you immediately on your return to the districts to send back the troops to Machchalipatnam from where M. Moracin has orders to send them to me here.

M. Riboux has asked me for his return, I grant it to him on his occasion.

Before terminating, I still wish to speak to you of the advantages which your return to our districts will prepare for us. You know what happened at Rajahmundry and the intrigues of Ibrahim Khan are certainly not unknown to you. This man, who has become suspect, deserves attention, and I ardently urge you to purge the whole of the north of bad subjects who have burst out during these last troubles. We must set to work in good earnest and put all the things back on a footing which might finally procure us the compensation. Time presses and becomes precious and the Company finally needs to derive the fruits of a harvest for which it has been making advances for a long time, either in funds or in ammunition and men, without being indemnified by the revences of the districts which have not sufficed for all the expenses which your residence with Salabat Jang has caused and would always cause.

You have in your army M. de Maisouval in the capacity of a volunteer. I must inform you, Sir, that from the month of February he has been promoted to the rank of an ensign. Kindly see that you get him recognised in this capacity and allow him the salary which may be due to him since he has been with you, after making the deduction of that which he has received as a volunteer.

I am going to send to the Minister and to the Company a copy of your last letter, and I am very much convinced that they will be satisfied with its contents.

I request you to ask M. Saubinet why M. de Mouhi, a Captain, is included in the statement of the losses incurred by the officers of the detachment for Rs. 1,300. This officer had remained at Machchali-patnam according to what M. Law writes to me.

I have the honour, etc.

C² 92, f. 149-150 v^o

Pondichery, September 25, 1756.

I have just received a letter from M. Moracin the contents of which urge me to repeat to you my request and orders which I gave you by my last letter to hasten your return to the districts. He writes to me that Ibrahim, whom you have placed in charge of the district of Srikakulam has increased the scope of his revolt and that he would have perhaps given no end of trouble to us if he had not been held in check by Vijay Ram Raja, whom no solicitation could corrupt. It is to be feared that the district of Srikakulam may escape us, if the traitor is given time to consolidate his rebellion, being seeking the support of the English with whom, he is aware, we are about to have war. There is no time to be lost and your presence is absolutely necessary in this district where it will be advisable perhaps to leave a unit of European troops and put things on a different footing.

The rebels of Rajahmundry, encouraged by Ibrahim Khan, continue their rebellion and hold M. Duplan and other gentlemen who were with him, as prisoners. Therefore, return as early as possible to these districts in order to assure us their possession in case of war

with the English and to stop the troubles which deprive us of our revenues.

The English have kept for several days a part of their troops embarked on their ships to go, it is reported to Bengal and they got them afterwards disembarked. It is claimed that this armament was intended for Salabat Jung and that they only awaited the news of the defeat of our detachment to start. Muhammad Ali Khan was to proceed by land to this sovereign with a corps of native troops. These suspicions are not without foundation and as the landing of their troops was made at the very time when we learnt here about the safe arrival of our detachment at Hyderabad, there is reason to believe that they had designs on that part. I today hear that these very troops are embarking again and going to Bengal.

Two ships which left Europe on the 7th of March have just arrived at Madras. War between the two crowns was about to be declared. Since the arrival of these ships, the report runs that we have captured the Port Mahon in the Mediterranean. The English are counting that they receive in the month of January a squadron which they say is composed of 12 ships which will proceed straight to the Eastern Coasts and wait there until the season permits them to come here.

I have the honour, etc.

Copy of a letter written by M. de Leyrit to M. Krock, Governor of Tranquebar dated the 27th September.

Sir, it is with a sincere gratitude that I receive the compliment which you are kind enough to pay me by your letter dated the 21st instant on the occasion of the decisive victory, which our troops have won over the Nawab of Golkonda. I cannot but be very sensible of the part you take in our success, and I shall be delighted if they (French authorities) can put me in a position to unite myself with you to oblige your enemies to give you all the satisfaction which you expect from them.

I owe you still greater thanks for the gracious offer which you have the kindness to make on the question of the dispatch which you propose to make of one of your ships to Europe on the 15th of the

next month. I shall take the liberty to profit by it and address you some letters.

I remain etc.

True Copy.

Duval de Leyrit.

B.N., N.A.F., 9158, f. 345-345v^o

From the French Camp at Elluru,
December 28, 1756.

M. Le Marquis Dupleix

Sir,

I received only the duplicate of your letter of the 11th November. This letter accompanies that of mine of the 30th September. It is dispatched by a boat which leaves tomorrow from Narsapur for the Isles. It will not be a detailed one, but it will give you proof of the attachment I have vowed to you for ma life. You must have seen the faithful picture of the events of the last campaign, and my plan to return to our districts to re-establish order which the latest troubles had disturbed a little. I left Hyderabad after removing from office persons who were hostile to us and after being assured of the dispositions of the Nawab and his Council as much as one can count on the good faith of the Asiatics. If I were not sure, Sir that you have all the details before your eyes, I would expatiate more. But my correspondence must have presented to you the embarrassments of every kind which have successively tried and sometimes all armed my zeal for glory and the interests of the nation. Free from military tasks, I was overwhelmed with negotiations, and the success has moved with an even step in both these jobs. I have taken all the precautions which one can humanly take such as my experience and knowledge of the local conditions have furnished them to me to obviate all the

difficulties which can arise from the measures which we have just taken. The army, of which the return to our lands appeared so necessary, has arrived there, as I have said it what remains to be done is the arrangement of the finances and the form to be given to the administration of the region, to procure for M. De Leyrit some lakhs which he will badly need and give evident proofs of the advantages which the Company will subsequently derive from these acquisitions.

Here is, Sir, My sixth campaign terminated. Is it not time to take my flight? However, the circumstances demand a prolongation to which I sacrifice my self necessarily in spite of the disgust of my position. When will the rewards come? It is an enigma. Good hopes are promised, but so far there is no effect. I assure you that if I can discover a convenient door, I shall escape to go and assure you of my sentiments for you, Madame and Mademoiselle, to whom I cannot write in the fear of missing the occasion.

I am sending you almost all my correspondence with M. De Leyrit, and it is M. Dupassage, junior, whom I have sent to Pondicherry for this purpose. What must I think, Sir, of all that I learn? Some say that you have embarked, others that you are nominated by the Congress, for the part of India, and that Mademoiselle is married. I expected from you information on all these matters, the want of which throws me in a great perplexity. You know that it is solely to support your work that I remain in India.

M. is consumed with jealousy. The (little) attention that is paid to him in the Empire is the cause of it. I venture to tell you that I am the only Frenchman to-day who is considered in this vast government, especially at the Court of Delhi. The extract of the letter attached herewith will convince you of it.

I remain respectfully,

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,
De Bussy.

B.N., N.A.F., 9158, f 350-351

From the French Camp at Rajahmundry.
January 20, 1757.

M. Le Marquis Dupleix.

Sir,

This letter is the continuation of the one which I wrote to you on the 28th of December of which herewith is the duplicate. It will reach you by the channel of the carwan.

After settling the affairs of the districts of the south, that is to say, Elluru and Mustafanagar, I passed to that of Rajahmundry where Vijay Ram Raja and all the zamindars joined me, ... which the time which the arrangement requires..... other affairs to proceed hastily to Srikakulam and follow the same plan of conduct.

I do not enter into any detail because the person of whom I spoke to you and who is charged with the copy of my letters, will send them to you. My name object is to help the Company in its finances.

I am extremely delighted to see the good understanding not only continue but tighten more closely between Salabat Jang and us. Perhaps our absence has something to do with it. It is certain that this Prince and his Court to-day recognise better than ever the importance of the services which the French nation has rendered it. I receive frequent and very affectionate letters to press me to rejoin him. But I venture to hope to manage things in such a manner that without indisposing him, I shall make him agree to my sojourn as long as the welfare of the affairs will require it. I also receive every day from the Court of Delhi marks of the most perfect understanding and highest distinction.

In the position in which I am, I would indeed wish, Sir, to have orders against the English. I can say, without..... would be soon expelled from the establishments which they have on our domains in the north. If this nation got an opportunity to forestall us with the slightest chance of success, it will not bother,

like us; about dainties, of which the consequences are often very harmful.

I love you with all my heart. Please assure Madame of the same sentiments, and rest assured of the respectful attachment with which I remain,

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

De Bussy.

You will see from the copy of the letter attached herewith the honour which I received recently from the Court of Delhi.

B.N.N.A.F., 9159, f. 29-32.

Brest, February 25, 1757.

M. Le Marquis Dupleix.

Sir,

I received your letter of the 12th May thanks for your attention in sending my letters to their destination. We have not yet left as you see. It is certain that many difficulties have not been overcome. I, however, think that we shall set sail at the end of the month. The troops embarked yesterday the officers will do so tomorrow, Saturday and Sunday. When it pleases Ehol, we shall sail. Since yesterday sou wester winds have been shifting and our desire that they should change makes us hope so. I am making the same prayer as you that God's will be done. How many buts will there not be in all this? You are right in not doubting my attachment and my friendship, that of M. De Lally is won for you. But nevertheless, I shall tell you, Sir, that it is a little inferior to capacity of mine. Neither he nor still more I definitely

imagine that you have no confidence in us. But permit me to tell you, until you have assured me, as you have done in this latest letter, that it did not appear convincing that you had told us everything, since you have said nothing to us. As the motive of our curiosity, in the case of both of us, centres on the desire to be sufficiently informed of your affairs to render you service, I assure you with the sincerity which you have recognised in me that Lally and I, we do not leave with any idea which may be unfavourable to you. There is hardly a day when he does not admire, you and does not praise in you the quality of a good citizen of which you have given him so many proofs by your verbal good advice and the useful hints which you have given him and which can help him much in finding the means to render his mission advantageous to his nation and counter the blow which your recall has & dealt to the honour of the nation and to the profits of the Company. I do know, Sir, that you have given him and me a small memorial concerning Valdaour and the note for the sums which are due to you. But even if you were to find me and he still more curious, it deserved a more ample explanation. Never mind, you refer us to your attorneys, to whom you have certainly sent orders to speak to me, and which they will show me so that I may be useful to you. Set your mind at rest. I shall not leave M. De Lally until he fulfils the job, and I have to render him justice that I shall not have much difficulty on this point. You inform me that you have taken away with you all your belongings, and yet, if I have good memory, several persons told me, and it seems to me that you have said it to me myself that you have not carried away anything. By this very letter, you inform me that you have very few debts to recover, much to pay, but that nevertheless all your debts would be paid before our arrival. You will confess to me, Sir, that, that is implicating, and always attentive not to leave any ambiguity in what you advance, I was very careful not to give your letter to Lally for reading. Rest assured, Sir, that I am not in the role of the public so far as you are concerned. Once again neither M. De Lally nor I, we do not think of reproaching you. We are your friends and the only ones, perhaps indispensable, you have and this without exception. Thus, we were more engrossed with the fear of being ill informed than worried about not knowing your secret. If there is one, it could only be a burden to

us, being unable to turn it to your advantage. I assure you, Sir, that we have no need to reconsider our opinion of you, and do not on our honour, desire to humiliate you; very far from it. I nearly surmise all the horrors which your attorneys will have to communicate to me. I shall enable them to speak freely to Lally and employ all my feeble eloquence to induce him to place confidence in them. The rumours which are spread on Bussy are only too true, a sad result of the conduct of M. Godeheu, but if 600 men which M. De Terry sent him have arrived and if he keeps his head cool, I am not worried about anything. You know the man; he has called to his succour Balajirao who is the person who warned him of the treachery hatched against him. It is not surprising that they (Dupleix's friends in India) do not speak to you about it since the letters you received were dispatched in the month of February while ours are dispatched in the month of July. Your information about the English is correct and is consistent with all that we have received. It is very true that we would have had actually lot of work if we were on the coromandel Coast, but the evil spirit, which reigns everywhere, disposed otherwise. Happy if we find it this year, but I doubt it. I, however, expect that we shall start on next Sunday when the sou'wester winds which are blowing here, will change to the north-east. I made all the reflections which each one can make on the affairs of India, but it does not appear that the Ministry has denounced, the magnitude of the indiscretions, that are committed there. Even silhonnet exults at having predicted the fall of the Deccan. It is easy to make similar predictions when one plans something and hopes that it will succeed. The said silhonnet, therefore deserves to be praised for his combinations; they are only just. I bet, that actually he does not suspect that I praise him. But before being a friend or an enemy, I am just. I knew about the refusal of the administrators of finances to work with him. I know that he is accused of every thing that you tell me; I even know that it is rightly so. But what I unfortunately know very well, is that he will come off spotless, boast that he avoided a greater wrong, and at the slightest prosperity which the company will enjoy. The success will be discribed to his capacity, and these who have executed the plans, will only be accessories. I have no doubt about the bad state in which we shall find the Isle of France. M. De Lally already trembles at the

thought. There is no longer any doubt about the confusion and the general pilfering which you announce to us at Pondicherry. It will be easy to remedy the situation ; let God alone bad us to it. I very nearly know the mission of M. Clonet, but what I know even more definitely is that if he deviates from it in the slightest matter, he will repent of it.

I am delighted that chonchon is happy with the convent and shall be still happier on the day of the installation. Time is a great comforter, but in the name of God, Sir if there was ever question of that, remember that an absence of 33 years as led you to lose the course of the changes in the country in which you live. Therefore, refer a little to the persons who never left it, and I think that you will with difficulty find a friend such as my mother, and who is in a position to give you the best advice on this subject. Mainville had not yet left Paris on the 17th and the 20th. He was suffering from fever, he is still in Paris, tell him that it appears to me strange that I have not heard from him.

I have just received your letter of the 21st. I shall reply to it day after to-morrow, even perhaps from the board, for, it is said that we shall embark on this day. I how to you always, Sir, the same friendship and the same attachment. I shall read your letter to Lally. I embrace you, Sir very tenderly, for on my honour, I love you with all my heart.

(Conflans)

B.N., N.A.F., 9159, f. 33-33v°

Brest, March 2, 1757.

M. Dupleix.

With great hurry we all embarked day before yesterday, and intended to spread the sails, but the winds which had shifted from the south-east to the north-east, have changed again to the south-west. This

means, Sir that we shall leave when it pleases benevolent God. But what may please him and us, is the news brought to us yesterday by a small prize made by a privateer which he sent into the port. He assured us that he had seen three big warships off Grona ; he had even chased their privateers. That would mean, according to me, that it is the vanguard of Admiral West. Besides, we did all that we could to meet him. There is still moon light. Finally, what God protects is well protected, but the General and I, we are not in good humour, in fact, without counting the innumerable petty vexations which he and I have endured. The situation of Bussy continues to be very alarming. I mean that M. Silhouette boasts of having predicted this fall. I might as well say that an architect would have predicted that a house would fall when its foundations would be removed, and certainly, you are indeed in this scheme the vaults of the building. I must render justice to our General who immediately said "This is the result of having removed M. Duplex." As for what concerns me, you know that it grieves me. It is however, true that if Bussy is not the victim of some treachery. I bet that every thing has been repaired. I am not happy with the latest letters of M. de Leyrit. He is a man with little firmness. When I shall meet him, I shall form a more correct Judgment of him. Good bye, Sir, good-bye ; no one is more attached to you and loves you more sincerely than I. Be very sure of it. A thousand tender courtesies to chonchon. That springs from the heart, for, I know that it is a more suitable way to show respect. I would indeed wish that she was happy : I can be so only when I know that you both are so.

I know, Monsieur Le Marquis, that there was perhaps some indiscretion on my part in demanding from you the favour about which I spoke to you in my last letter. It is, however, essential for me. I therefore, expect that the man in the world on whom I rely the most and who is my intimate friend, will not fail me in something which is so essential to me.

M. D' Ache' sleeps on board, it is only Lally and I who sleep on the shore. I think I informed you that by the arrangements of M. D' Ache', he had given me the permission to spend all the evenings in the room of the town-council and have only the vessel La Sainte Barbe

as a place of retirement. I, and even Lally, found the thing so indecent and uncomfortable that we got separated, and that I share the vessel *Le Superbe* with M. de Choiseville where I am almost decently lodged. Good-bye, Sir, Good-bye. In the name of God, take care of your health. It is reported that you have moments of depression. Shake them off; appear great in adversity; give us time to write from India; you will be kept informed of everthing. I shall serve you well; be sure about it. Besides, my gratitude and my heart lead me to it. Handsome behaviour and friendship must be reciprocal.

I fervently recommend to you to see my mother.

(Conflans)

B.N., N.A.F., 9158, f. 348-349.

From the French Camp at Aska,

April 22, 1757.

M. Le Marquis Dupleix.

Sir,

The details which I have narrated in my previous letters since I have been in our districts, on the administration on the revolution at Delhi which the Pathan Adel Shah had seized, on the affairs of the Deccan or on other events in India, dispense me with expatiating at greater length in this one. I shall communicate to you only in few words what was taken place recently in the Ganges and my actual operations.

The English, after making their peace with the Subhedar of Bengal through the mediation of the Director of Chandernagare, mocked at the treaty of neutrality which existed and which had been confirmed, it is said, with regard to the Ganges and have seized our colony which cost them dearly this place having resisted for ten days. It surrendered on the 23rd of March at 9 O'clock in the morning. M. Raully, Chief of our lodge at Balasore also writes that a boat, armed with 80 sailors and seven officers, came to seize it. I would very much like to

attempt reprisals on the only establishment they have on this coast. But I am occupied with the zamindars and the Rajas. Moreover, I lack all the munitions for this operation which will become more difficult if they receive forces from Europe. If I also receive them from Machchalipatnam or Pondicherry, I shall see that I crown all my labours by that after which nothing will detain me.

Yesterday I arrived at Aska about 80 Koss to the north of Sriakulam, and shall quit it tomorrow leaving all the equipment, tents, hospital, etc., to march against the zamindar of Gomser who instigates those of this part as Vijay Ram Raja did in the south. Although I am indisposed, I shall start and travelling in a palanquin. However, if it had been possible to avoid going in person on this expedition I would have done it, as I need rest. But my presence there is absolutely necessary. Once this affair is terminated, I shall return to Sriakulam, and during the march settle those of Aska which I have left behind. Narendev alone will still remain to be reduced before entering the quarters for the monsoon. Every thing is conducted here in a manner to induce me to wish for my return to Europe, and my declining health obliges me to do so. Moracin writes to me that you have written to him in detail; definitely my letters are lost. There is a report that the Company has sent a colonel to the Isle of France. If that is so, I abandon every thing, although Salabat Jang does not cease recalling us. Even its humour is added to the solicitations. I do not know how to reconcile the necessity to remain in our districts and serve the Nawab who has ceded them only on this condition? Once again, they do not understand any thing about it here, and in spite of the war, I want to retire in order not to see everything crumbling and lost.

The English have detained our prisoners in spite of the conditional treaty whist we returned to them those whom we had captured. We have also condescended to allow them to keep their squadron in India where it has been employed in reducing the Angre by seizing, in concert with Balajirao, all the strong places in which they found huge sums which they have appropriated. At the earliest news of war they are in a position to capture all our ships and that is what they have done. Without this squadron the English were ruined and

could never have retrieved their losses in Bengal from which the Nawab had expelled them. This squadron, I repeat it, has re-established them there, and seizes our establishments from us. The reflections, which I could make on this point, must not undoubtedly have escaped where you are.

Good-bye, Sir, I wish you and Madame as well as Mademoiselle the best health. I am burning with the desire to see you and prove to that I shall remain all my life with the most inviolable attachment.

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

De Bussy.

B.N., N.A.F., 9158, f. 352-352v°

Vishakhapatnam, July, 20, 1757.

M. Le Marquis Dupleix.

Sir,

I address you herewith the detail of the capture of Vishakhapatnam. I shall not expatiate on the condition of the place or on the loss which this reverse causes to the English. You are perfectly informed of it. I succeeded in this enterprise beyond my expectations. The few troops I had, the scarcity of munitions in which I have been left in spite of my repeated demands, did not promise such a quick success. I rejoice at it with you as a patriot, convinced of the interest which you take in the successes of the nation which by this expedition has a little recovered from the humiliation in which so many failures had plunged it and recently from an unsuccessful attempt on Tiruchchirappalli where there were only 60 Europeans and 200 sipahees. Our army consisted of more than 1000 Europeans and 4000 sipahees.

M. D. Auteuil commanded and forever dishonoured the nation on this occasion. As for himself, he had done so long ago. I am overwhelmed with affairs which fact hardly leaves me time to write to you these few words in haste. I refer to my long letter of the 15th May in reply to yours. Moreover, the news varies so much on the decision you have taken, that I do not know how matters stand, and this letter, according to several persons, might not indeed find you in Europe. I wish you, wherever you are, the best health and I request you to believe that you will never have anyone, who should remain more attached to you than me.

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,
De Bussy.

P.S. Please allow me to offer here the same sentiments to Madame and Mademoiselle who, if I am to believe the news, must be married. I wish her all the happiness that she deserves.

B.N., N.A.F., 9158, f. 353-354.

From the French camp under the walls of Aurangabad,

March 25, 1758.

M. Dupleix.

Sir,

Your letter of the 17th April reached me before the arrival of M. de Lally. M. de Conflans preceded him on a frigate dispatched from the Cape Verde. I am delighted the King has appointed Commissioners to discuss your affairs with the Company. You have reason to hope that they will be soon terminated to your satisfaction. From all the letters which I have written to you, you must not be informed of all the events and the situation of the affairs of this part. I refer to them and send these few lines by the caravan.

The reverse, which the English met with in the Ganges, has been repaired by advantages which are beyond all that I can say to you. Moreover, you know that region. By telling you that they are masters of it, you know every thing. The detail of this revolution and the loss of Chandernagare are not unknown to you. Therefore, I shall not expatiate on this subject.

As for the behaviour of my brother towards you, I still refer myself to my letters which will explain to you my real sentiments which absence has not changed.

I did not hear from you about the death of Madame which afflicts me beyond expression. It appears that I miss many of your letters. You must have learnt about the reduction of Vishakhapatnam. M. de Leyrit had forbidden me since my entry into our districts from committing any hostility against the English until they had first broken the truce. This delay has given them time to remove from this place all they had most previous there, so that with the exception of the artillery and some munitions, I captured from the whole coast nothing but ramparts. I got this place blown. You will see the reasons for it in the memorial which I join here. I have been approved by M. de Soupire. Here is the extract of his letter :

...“I carefully read the memorials on the demolition of Vishakhapatnam and the motives which urged you to do so, and which are clearly narrated in the memorial to the assembly of the Council for this purpose. Without entering at present in a greater detail, I think that you could not dispense yourself with it, and I would have done it in your place in spite of the reasons which had been given to me while leaving France to exclude this place in the projects of demolition.”.

This is how the affairs in India stood when the first division of our squadron arrived on the 9th September. The season, already advanced, obliged the ships to leave the coast within a month. This short space of time did not permit it to attempt any large scale expedition. All the projects are deferred till the arrival of M. de Lally with whom all our forces will reunite. I wish that successes will crown the vast designs of the Court and the Ministers who certainly have sent into India so

many forces only to obtain over own rivals an ascendancy which will repair all our losses.

I once again returned to the Deccan in spite of my declining health. I had solicited my retirement with M. de Leyrit. Hardly had M. de Soupire arrived than I demanded from him the same favour. Both urged me by their representations to continue my mission of the Deccan at least till the arrival of M. de Lally. I gave in before their entreaties. The intrigues and the cabals which are hatched against our interests at the Court of the Nawab during my absence will give me an occupation of a Cabinet-council. I have taken measures in order not to be obliged to employ force in order to reconcile the minds a little estranged. Removal of the rebels would re-establish order and tranquility in the Deccan, which we need during the national war which we have to support.

After so many expeditious and labours crowned (with success), I shall perhaps be obliged to say in the words of a great man "Those who envy me and my critics are among my nation and my admirers among the foreigners".

Besides all the letters which I have written to you on the affairs of India and on what is taking place. I have also sent you several memorials on the past and future operations, the state of our affairs in Bengal and the means of repairing our losses in this part, etc etc.

I am remain with respectful attachment,

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Bussy.

B.N., N.A.F., 9158, f. 355.

Pondicherry, October 14, 1758.

M. Dupleix.

Sir,

Since the receipt of your letter of the 17th April 1757 and to which I replied by mine of the 25th March, of which I attach here the third copy, I have not received any of a more recent date. Those which I received since are anterior and duplicates, which fact throws me in the greatest anxiety to know if all the packets, which I have sent you and to which I had attached documents relating to the affairs of the time, have reached you. I have communicated everything to you exactly and always in triplicates. However, I hope that some of them must have reached you.

I have joined M. Le Comte de Lally according to the order which he gave me on the 27th September. I cannot tell you anything about the operations to be undertaken (you must have known about those which have been undertaken since the arrival of this General), everything being still in a state of the greatest indecision. Therefore, I cannot even tell you anything about what concerns me personally. Time will unfold everything and I shall not fail to post you with it.

The news, which has arrived from Europe some time back, has been the saddest that I could expect. It is the death of my mother and my brother. Today I receive confirmation of it by a letter from M. le Comte de Tressan who informs me that the Lieutenant-colonel has been killed, I am in a state of despondency from which I shall find it difficult to recover and so soon. This death makes me lose the finest hopes which I had cherished in the benevolence with which M. le Marechal de Bestile and several other persons honoured him.

I remain always with the same sentiments and a respectful attachment.

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Bussy.

B.N., N.A.F., 9158, f. 356-357v°

Pondicherry, April 22, 1759.

Sir,

You will be strangely surprised when you will learnt about all that has taken place in India since some time. You can hardly believe it, for, unless one is a witness of it, I cannot think that it is possible to imagine that one could have pushed to a point to which we have seen them, haughtiness and weakness, quickness to form projects and incapacity to execute them, the trouble, the disorder and the contradiction in the ideas. All these things are, however, only too true to the disgrace and detriment of the French nation in India. The short time at my disposal for my dispatches to Europe does not permit me to give the details. But you will find them, of you are curious, about them, with M. Marion, whom I have not kept in the dark about all these happenings. You will see that after the dishonouring expedition to Tanjaour, the General, with a single stroke of the pen, lost the north by recalling us, M. Moracin and I, with the major part of our troops. The siege of Madras followed closely this false step. The Siege, in which we incurred the irreparable loss of a number of good officers and very brave soldiers, was as imprudently undertaken as badly executed. The humiliating precipitation with which it was raised, has very well contributed to the thoughtless fickleness which had caused it to be formed. But what will appear to you perhaps most singular in this sad narration is that they are endeavouring to throw on me the blame for the failure of all these operations in which I had no other share than that of a simple officer who does his duty by risking his skin, instead of attributing them, as one ought to do it, to the ignorance, incapacity and presumption of the person who formed them. What is more, they push animosity to the point of accusing me with treason, and they proposes to communicate these mad fancies to Europe and to the King himself. This plan, as hateful as insane, does not alarm me. But I am not without deep anxiety on the fate of the colony. The state of the affairs and the bad administration which reigns there, make me fear a future still more dreadful. What a change in all the parts since your departure! It is only in my sentiments for

you that there has not been any and that there will never be any. I am always the same with respect to you, that is to say, imbued with a gratitude which has no match but sincere and respectful attachment with which I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Bussy.

P.S. I learn at this moment, Sir, that four hundred Englishmen have scaled and captured Machchalipatnam whose garrison, commanded by M. De Conflans, was composed of six hundred Frenchmen. Nawab Salabat Jang who had advanced with his army to sixty Km. from there, partly to assist us and also, to be a witness of the even, has picked up hundred and fifty men, officers as well as soldiers, who had escaped from this place, and offered to take them in his service on conditions that they would not have any credit and that they would only be simple mercenaries as in the early times. Thus, we are completely expelled from the north as well as from Bengal. On the other hand, we have just lost Surat which the English also seized a short time ago. Thus, of all the rich possessions, we have left for us no more than our establishments on the Coromandel Coast. They are indeed in the most pitiable condition. This is, Sir, to what is reduced the fruit of so many labours, expenses and blood spread during fifteen years. If M. de Lally was capable of a serious examination of his conduct, what reproaches would he not have to make to himself for being the cause of so many fatal events?

(1)

C² 89, f. 227-278.

*Translation of a letter from Balajirao to M. Godeheu,
received on May 7, 1755.*

The Kingdom of Tanjaoure is in my dependency. The previous Governors of Pondicherry, knowing that this Kingdom depended on me, have always treated it with favour. I am writing to you this letter on this occasion because of the friendship which exists between us to request you to lend all sorts of assistance to the said Kingdom. If you do it, I shall be very delighted with it. As we live together in a perfect friendship, that is what urges me to write to you the present letter. I have a great desire to meet you. Until I have this pleasure to continue to write to me.

(2)

C² 89, f. 281v^o

*Translation of a letter from Balajirao to the Governor, received on
June 20, 1755.*

I have sent my Vakil Narsingrao to receive the (Sar) deshmukhi and the Chauthai from Arcot and all its villages. I do not know whether he has arrived in the province and whether he has already paid you a visit. I, however, believe that he must have visited you by now. During his visit, he must have given you some news which you ought to know at present. There is no difference between my territories and yours. You ought to know how? In view of our old friendship, you should take steps to pay the (Sar) deshmukhi and the Chauthai. If there is anything to be done for your service in these quarters, write to me; I shall do it willingly. I have also written to my Vakil Narsingrao to communicate you. Whatever news he will communicate to you, you must always write to me to cultivate the friendship which exists between us.

I am sending you a sarpech and I request you to accept it.

(3)

C² 89, f. 280v^o—281v^o

Translation of a letter from Narsingrao, Vakil of Balajirao to the Governor of Pondicherry (M. de Leyrit).

I have come on behalf of Balajirao to receive the Sardeshmukhi and the Chauthai of Arcot and other territories. You must have received this news since the time have been in this territory. I had written to Balajirao about the arrival of M. Godeheu and all that he has done here, about the news concerning the killedars and your impending arrival from Bengal to take up the administration of Pondicherry. Thereupon, Balajirao has sent a letter to you and another to me. I have heard that you are a very upwright and very shrewd nobleman. You must do all you can for the preservation of the friendship which exists between you and Balajirao.

I am sending Govindrao to you with the letter of Balajirao. He will always remain with you and often obtain for you news from Balajirao. You must grant him your favour. You must pay attention to the letter which Balajirao has written to you and do what he asks. You must, in your turn, contribute to further augment the friendship which exists between you and Balajirao who, in his turn, is sincerely disposed towards that. I have received the news that Balajirao has sent Ambaji and Madoji, his Divans, who are persons of great considerations, to the Rajas of Mysore, Bednur and Savnur and other territories to receive money in peshcash or contribution. After some time they will both go to Shirpi. These two divans are great friends of Salabat Jung. I shall communicate to you the news which I shall hear subsequently. Ranga Pillai will impart to you the rest of the news.

(4)

C^o89, f. 282-282v^o*Translation of a letter from Balajirao to the Governor,**Received on August 12, 1755.*

You must have known about the close friendship which had always existed between M. Duplex and me. I learnt with great joy about your arrival at Pondichery to occupy his place on account of your relationship with him. The French are straightforward, fair people, fond of justice. I have always known them as superior to all the other nations. That is what urged me to always become friends with them, and that is why I am inclined to render them service on all occasions. I have sent to the Carnatic Mahadji Pantoulou¹, one of my generals with an army with the order to render you some service and to execute it exactly to which instruction he will not fail to conform himself.

The fact that Muzaffar Khan should be in my service is advantageous for you and the service of the company as well as for me in view of the friendship which exists between you and me. I have dispatched the letter which you have sent me for the Vazir of the great Mughal at Delhi. When I receive his reply, I shall send it to you through Muzaffar Khan. He intends to perform the marriage of his sister's son he has sent invitations to all the members of his family who are at Pondicherry. His wife alone has been permitted to go, his son, the widow of Azanardi Kam and his other relatives have been detained. This has surprised me much, since I had written to you on this subject. Why should you hesitate to allow them to go? I write to you once again to kindly send his son Qumoufow Kam, the widow of Anazardi Kam and other relatives and give them an escort so that they do not meet with any impediment on the way. The marriage cannot take place without them. Moreover, that will not appear proper. If you allow to come, it will augment the friendship which exists between you and me.

1. Mahadji Purandare.

(G.C.P.) H 4328—34 (1210—4-85).

(5)

C² 89, f. 234-235.*To Balajirao from M. De Leyrit, Governor of Pondicherry,**August 13, 1755.*

I received with great pleasure the two letters which you wrote to me. I am very sensible of the assurances which you give me in them of your friendship and of your sentiments for the French nation which will always be delighted to have an occasion to give you proofs of its esteem. You must be informed of the present situation of affairs of the Carnatic. At the beginning of the year we have agreed to a suspension of arms which is to last for eighteen months. I cannot, therefore, profit for the present by the officers which you make to me of the succour of your army. I am all the same obliged to you for it. As for the (Sar) deshmukhi and the Chauthai of the said province, you are wrong in making the demand to me. You know that the French posses only a very little portion of it. It is to the person to whom this province will belong when everything is settled that you ought to demand the revenues which you have the right to demand. I have not detained here the son of Muzaffar Khan. He is free to go and join his father to attend this marriage of which you speak to me.

Give me news about you often. I shall always be very delighted to receive it.

I thank you for the sarpech which you have sent to me.

(6)

C²89, f.235.*To Narsingrao, Balajirao's Vakil, from M. De Leyrit,**August 13, 1755.*

I duly received your letter by which I see that you have come on behalf of Balajirao to receive the (Sar) deshmukhi and the Chauthai of the province of Arcot. Balajirao is wrong in addressing to me on this subject. You must be aware of the actual situation of the affairs

in the Carnatic. At the commencement of the year we have agreed to a suspension of arms which will last for eighteen months. The French possess a very little portion in this province. It is to the person to whom it will belong when everything is settled that Balajirao ought to demand the revenues which he has the right to demand. Moreover, the French nation always considers him as a sincere friend and will be delighted to serve all the occasions which will present themselves to convince him of its sentiments. That is what you should communicate to him. Govindrao will confirm to you all that I write to you through this one. I thank you for all the news which you give me.

(7)

C^o89,f. 244-244v^o

Letter from Balajirao to M. De Leyrit,

After the usual compliments,

It is since long that I received news from you, which circumstances surprises me. Being allied with friendship with you, friends ought not to forget each other. That is why I request you very earnestly to give me proofs of your remembrance.

I have already written to you twice for the rights of Chauthai and Sardeshmukhi which are due to me from the province of the Carnatic. I had even sent one by name Narsingrao three years ago for the collection of these rights. But so far he has not been given the permission to collect these rights. I could, by myself and with the forces which I would send in this province, collect these rights without anyone venturing to dispute them with me. But that would break the close friendship which binds us since a long time. Finally, whatever has taken place in the past, I hope that now you would be pleased to put the said Narsingrao in a position to collect these rights. It will be a matter for the augmentation of this very friendship which I desire to always preserve.

H 4328—34a

(8)

C2 90 f. 188-188v°

Translation of a letter from Narsingrao. Resident at Arcot on behalf of Balajirao to receive the Chauthai, to De Leyrit.

Received on March 3 1756.

I am in receipt of your letter through Govindrao. I read it and was very happy. Since this time you have not written to me, which leads me to feel that I no longer enjoy your favour.

Balajirai has taken the field; he has appeared before Sarnanour¹ where he has captured the fort of Balgalkot. Murarrao, the Nawab of Savnur and Muzaffar Khan are shut up in Savnur. The army of Balajirao has besieged them. I have received a letter, addressed to you by Balajirao, which I am dispatching to you. He hopes that you will help him on this occasion. As the friendship which exists between you and him is very intimate, he expects this succour and if you give it, he will be very happy. Thanks to God, he does not lack forces. What he has written to you is out of friendship. I am sending you for this purpose the Brahmin Anantachery. You must send him back with the succour as early as possible.

Murarao and the other Nawabs have dispatched agents to Balajirao to negotiate. Balajirao is not satisfied with their proposals. Thanks to God, he will soon terminate this affair and appear in these parts. You write to him often and I to on my part, I write to him often about news from you. Therefore, he will be delighted to have an interview with you. When he comes to pay you a visit, he will do all that you desire.

(9)

C° 90, f. 118v°-189.

Translation of a letter from Balajirao to M. De Leyrit.

Received on March 3, 1756.

It is long since you have given me news about your health I am surprised at it, because of the close friendship between us. I have come

1. Savnur.

into the Carnatic to place my men to receive on my behalf the Chauthai and the (Sar) desh mukhi. Since I passed on this side of the Krishna, I learnt that Murarrao and Abdul Karim Khan, Nawab of Bankapur, seduced by the bad counsels of Muzaffar Khan, have conspired together and have come with their armies at two days' distance from mine with the purpose of attacking me. I went to meet them with 40,000 cavalry and artillery to crush them. When they saw my army coming, they did not dare to face it and have taken shelter in the fortress of Savnur. My army pursued them and has invested the place on all sides. I have forbidden to let anyone go out and let any provisions enter it, so that they suffer extremely. Thus, I hope that God will shortly punish them for their evil intentions. Because of your old friendship, you caught to help me on this occasion with some sipahees, some soldiers and munitions of war. By doing this, our friendship will strengthen further. Since you have not written to me for a long time, what confidence can I have that you will send me what I demand from you? It is for you to know what you ought to do to augment and strengthen our friendship further. I persist in my desire to meet you. Reply to me in a manner which will delight my heart.

(10)

C^o 89 f. 299v^o-300v^o

To Balajirao from M. De Leyrit.

Pondicherry, April 5, 1956.

I received the two letters which you wrote to me, the first on the subject of the two villages in the dependencies of Tiruchchirappali, and the second to communicate to me the victories you have won over your enemies. Whenever I receive news from you I feel a great pleasure, and these last ones have given me much delight. I request you to be convinced of it as much as of my desire to cultivate the friendship which has existed so far between us. I am very sorry not to be able to send you the succor which you ask from me. We are at present about to receive from Europe news which

will decide war or peace between us and the English. In this circumstance, it is not advisable for me divide our forces.

I refer to what I have already written to you on the subject of the Chauthai and the (Sar) desh mukhi of the province of Arcot.

With respect to the villages dependent on Tiruchchirappali called Chirelapetur and Nattambaddy of which you speak to me, I have given orders so that they should be delivered to the Brahmins who were previously in possession of them. I request you to give me news about you frequently.

To Narsingrao

I received the two letter which you wrote to me along with those of Balajirao who communicates to me the same news which you give me. I was delighted to hear about the victories he won over his enemies. But I am extremely grieved not to be able to send him the secours which he demands from me. You are aware that as the truce between us and the English is very soon to end, it is not advisable for me to divide my forces. It is for us a great mortification not to be able give him, on this occasion, marks of my desire to cultivate the friendship which has existed so far between us. With regard to the two villages dependent on Tiruchchirappali, of which you speak to me in your second letter, there are

(11)

C^a 90, f. 189-189v^o

Translation of a letter from Narsingrao, Balajirao's Vakkil to M. De Leyrit.

I have received a letter from my master in which he writes :—

“Our army is actually before the fortress of Savnur in which Murarrao, Muzaffar Khan and the Nawab of Savnur are besieged. There is such scarcity that you cannot buy a ‘Sher’ of rice for a rupee, which circumstance urges their troops to desert continuously, so that I hope to become master of this fortress in a day or two.

Salabat Jung has also come to pay me a visit and continues to be very friendly with me. When I become master of the fortress of Savnur and have subjugated the palegars, I shall come with him in your parts ”.

He also gives me the order to meet him. I am getting ready to do so. Bajirao has written you a letter in which he asks from you certain things. If you wish to send him to me, I shall deliver them to him myself.

Good friendship has always existed between you and Balajirao. If you still send him what he asks from you, this friendship will be strengthened.

For what concerns me personally, I have left in my house at Machchalipatnam one of my men by name Govinda with furniture worth two thousand of rupees. This man has sold it and has taken refuge with Moracin with whom he is still staying. I request you to tell M. Moracin to send an order to his tolque Maffdal Reddy, who is at Machchalipatnam, to sell it back if someone on my behalf goes there to claim it.

For the last five months the Brahmin of Balajirao has been with you. He awaits your paravana to obtain the village which belongs to him in the lands of Tiruchchirapally. I request you to give him this paravana as early as possible and send him back to Balajirao.

I consider you in the place of Balajirao who is my master.

(12)

C² 90, f. 190-190v^o

Translation of a letter from Balajirao to M. De Leyrit.

I am in receipt of your letter. I was very delighted to read it. I had given two villages to my Brahmin Shesharao in the district of Tiruchchirapali, and having regard for our friendship, you had written to me that you were giving them to him on your behalf in

the same way as I had given them to him. But my Brahmin writes to me that you had really given very strict orders on this point, but that the amaldar of the place has not yet delivered these villages to him, postponing the issue from day to day. I am very much surprised at this conduct, and fail to understand how one can have the audacity to disobey such pressing orders of his superiors. However, I hope that he will soon obey them since you have given your order, I am convinced that they will soon be executed. Nevertheless, I request you that in my opinion, you should repeat your orders to this amaldar by ordering him that as soon as the lost orders are received, he should deliver these villages to my Brahmin in the form prescribed. You must send a Chopdar with your letter with instructions that he should not return to your presence until he sees that the villages are delivered. When these villages are delivered to Shesharao, this Brahmin will return to me because I need him here.

(13)

C² 90, f. 201v^o-205.

Translatino of a letter from Muzaffar Khan to the Governor, M. De Leyrit.

Letters have arrived from Delhi from Gardikhan, Vazir and Tarabai, Queen of the Marathas, for Abdullah Karim Khan Bahaddur Dilawar Jang, Nawab of Savnur, Abdul Majidi Khan Bahaddur¹, Nawab of Cuddapah, Munawar Khan Bahaddur, Nawab of Kurnool, and for me and Tulaji Angre and Murarrao and for other pategars with a firman, in which it is mentioned that Balajirao wishes to dethrone the King who is at Satara and put himself in his place. That is why Gardikhan has sent orders to all to expel Balajirao and acknowledge, Tarabai as Queen of the Marathas, as it was customary before. "If you obey this order, your names will be recommended to the Padshah. That is why I order all the Nawabs to obey this orders". Consequently, I and

1. Ghagi-ud-din Khan, junior.

Mararrao, we proceeded to Touddour¹ where we have assembled all the Nawabs and have agreed all together to attack Balajirao who, for the last two or three years, wishes to become absolute master of the Carnatic. Such is his plan, but a part of this territory is in your hands and a part in those of the English. Therefore, send us 2000 sipahees with the necessary munitions of war. In that case, your territory will remain in your possession. In the times of the Nawab Satoulakan², when the Marathas appeared into the Carnatic, all the Nawabs of the territory joined together and expelled them so that the Nawab Satoulakan continued to remain master of the Carnatic. I write this to you because I wish to render service to the Company, as I having her interests at heart. I await your reply. I quitted you on account of one of these revolutions which always happen in this world. But my heart is always disposed to render you service. Mamond Camal left the service of Anawardi Khan³ and joined that of the Company of France. He governed Nellore Serapally. He died in the battle. Since his death, attempts are made to harass his family. It is not just that the families of those, whose fathers die in the service of the Company, should be harassed. Things which all those, like you, who are masters ought to know those who are harmful or kind to those who serve them and the latter, in their turn, ought to be faithful to their masters. During the time M. Dirois governed at Mahe, you were also there. You know how I served there, as well as when I was at Pondicherry, against Tanjaour, Anavardi Khan, Boscowen and Nazir Jang. I and my brother Shaikh Hussein then believed that the Company would never abandon us. The name of the Company was celebrated everywhere. We considered the prosperity of the Company as our own and that all the governors who came from Europe would have considerations for us and protect us. M. Dupleix always considered us as his children and kept our families at Pondicherry. Because we were entirely devoted to the Company, we believed that it would take care of us and always protect us. If a guilty person takes refuge with her, it is her custom to receive him and reconcile him with his master; that is what happened in the case of Chanda Saheb. M. Bausset and Ranga poulet⁴ are aware of it.

1. Sondur (Sandur).
2. Sadot-ullah Khan.
3. Muhammad Ali Khan.
4. Ranga Pillai.

And if you question them, they will corroborate it. We worked at the cost of our lives to procure for you such a large number of villages. We are excluded from them and those who replaced us enjoy them at present. Whatever it may be, I proclaim that I live everywhere under the name of the French Company. Hence forward, at the slightest order you will send me, I shall place myself at your feet to sacrifice my life in your service. M. Dupleix had made Chanda Saheb Nawab of Arcot and had sent with him my brother Shaikh Hussein. When both were at Srirangham, there came a merchant of elephants who, not wishing to trust Chanda Saheb the latter requested my brother to stand security for him. The merchant, according to the terms agreed came to ask money from him. Shaikh Hussein demanded it from the Nawab Chanda Saheb who gave a bill of exchange on the pargana of Salgarey, and the merchant was satisfied with it. When Shaikh Hussein asked for the promissory note which he had given him, the merchant replied to him that he did not have this note with him, that he had left it at Arcot, that he would send for it and deliver it to him. Then Chanda Saheb gave him a letter carrying the declaration that the said merchant had no more any claims from on him for the said elephants. In the meantime, Chanda Saheb died and Shaikh Hussein, when he came out of the prison of Cuddalore, came to Pondicherry where he also died. At this time the said merchant did not appear. Now he comes and demands the money. What right has he got in this case? A scrivener in the service of some grandee does not make a scruple to furnish a letter such as one desires in return for a hundred rupees. I have many enemies. The one, who was formerly my servant, is now a big nobleman in the service of the Company and I, who procured for the Company so many lakhs of rupees, I am suffering and seek service here and there. Oomar Khan, son of Shaikh Hussein, and the family of Mamoud Camal are with you. They have no one but you to protect them. If they do any wrong, you should forgive them. The killedar of Surat, Sayyad Moudkhan¹, wishes to give his daughter in marriage to Oomar Khan. Everything has been settled. That is why you must show him and to the family of Mahamod Kamal the favour to allow them to perform this marriage. M. Bussy had written to me that he would speak to the

1. Siddi Muhammad Khan.

Nawab Salabat Jang to obtain for me a jahgir. Your must, I request you, also write to M. Bussy to get me its paravana. Moreover, Murarrao has worked hard in the service of the Company. You must also write to M. Bussy to obtain for him from Salabat Jang a paravana for the fortresses of Goulti and Penasgonde¹ of which he is actually in possession. Ali Saheb will communicate to you other news.

In a small separate note is written :

At present the subha of Arcot has been given to Muhammad Ali Khan by Salabat Jang who has sent him its paravana. Besides, Salabat Jang has written to Muhammad Ali and the English that he grants them all the jahagirs in the dependency of Pondicherry. Moreover Salabat Jang's intention is to take the English in his service and then attack Pondicherry. I communicate this news to you so that you should take your measures. Read the note and tear it immediately.

In another note is written :

I have communicated to you all the news in a letter which I wrote to you previously. You must have studied it. Now I am fully convinced that, as M. Dupleix had always been a father to me, you will always consider me as your son. I recommend to you my son who is with you. I request you to take care of him. On my part, I have never failed in the service of the Company. I am always its servant. If I happen to commit some mistake, you will have the kindness to pardon me for it. Murarrao's brother has died in the service of the Company. That is why you must write in our favour to M. Bussy and to Salabat Jang. The Nawab of Kurnool Abdour Hakimkam Bahaddur is always very friendly to us. It is the time when the Carnatic ought to be reinforced. This report will reach the ears of the Padshah. If these two persons are on our side, the affairs of the Company will prosper. The Nawab (Salabat Jang) has come to attack Savnur. He is camped at two hours' distance from the place. The Europeans have come quite near and showered a quantity of bullets in the place. But thanks to you, we have not so far suffered any damage. Balajirao's army and ours have had battles. Balajirao's nephew and several of his officers have been killed. I shall not fail to write to you if anything new takes place.

1. Penukonda.

C² 90, f. 205-206.

Copy of a letter from Muzaffar Khan to the Governor M. De Leyrit.
June 1, 1756.

Sir,

I write to you these lines to inquire about your health and at the same time inform you that I have written to you several letters in French as well as in Portuguese without getting any reply. Now I write to you a letter in French and I hope you will give a reply on the news that Salabat Jang wanted to get rid of M. de Bussy as he had no more confidence in him. I write to tell you at the same time that Salabat Jang has taken a note from M. de Bussy that he will no longer remain in his lands and that he will go straight to Pondicherry and that he will also surrender Srikakulam and Rajahmundry to Salabat Jang. But whether he liked it or not, M. de Bussy, when he saw himself betrayed on all sides and by all the chiefs of the army, found himself obliged to give this promise to Salabat Jang for his preservation and that of his French. Sir, during the time when I and Murarrao were shut up in Savnur, we wrote to M. de Bussy that, since we carried the French flags and since Murarrao's brother died in their service, we did not wish to fight against the said French, having received our training from them in the art of war. But this war took place only because of Nana who only sought to create discord in the whole army to force Salabat Jang to send back the French. We wrote to M. de Bussy to come on our side. If he had done so, there would not have been discord between the Mughals and the French in the Deccan. M. de Bussy left the army of Salabat Jang between Savnur and the Tungabhadra. So far as I and Murarrao are concerned, we have always shown respect to the French flag and we did not defend ourselves against the same. Salabat Jang has sent his seal and a sarpech to Muhammad Ali Khan declaring him as the Nawab of the Carnatic encourage him to fight against the French nation, and at the end of the monsoon, Salabat Jang will also appear on the coast to

fight against the French. As I have been so long a servant of the French, I and Murarrao, we form a single entity; we are like two brothers. Therefore, Sir, if the Company needs us, we are quite ready to place ourselves under its orders. Send us all the munitions of war. We are spending the monsoon at Pondour¹. You know how I have served the Company. Sir, I recommend to you my son Houmor¹ Khan who is in the service of the French. If there is some promotion, think of him, and you will oblige me infinitely.

Sir, your, etc.

(15)

C² 90, f. 206-206v^o.

Translation of a letter from Murarrao to the Governor.

It is long since you wrote to me. That is not consistent with the friendship which ought to exist between us. Consequently you should write to me more often. Muzaffar Khan and I are bound with close friendship. We went to meet the Nawab of Savnur with whom we held counsel and went together to meet Balajirao with whom we made war for four months. Balajirao, when he saw such a powerful army coming against him, addressed himself to Shah Nawaz Khan and persuaded him to bring Salabat Jang with his army to his succour. We are friends of the Peshwa. Through his intermediary, we went to meet the Nawab who gave us an audience, and according to our desire he has done us the favour to give us as presents elephants, horses and jewels and gave us leave. After which I proceeded to Soundour² with my soldiers, my artillery and my sipahees. After some time the Peshwa and Shah Nawaz Khan did an ill turn to M. Bussy in what concerns his relations with the Nawab who dismissed M. Bussy and Hyder Jang, ordering them to go wherever they wished, and has the plan to come and make

1. Sondur (Sandur).

2. Oomar Khan.

3. Sondur (Sandur).

war with you. His intention was to assassinate M. Bussy who did not wish to listen to my advice. The Nawab has given the paravana of the nawaby of Arcot to Muhammad Ali ; he has thereby commenced to make war with you. You and I, we are friends. That is why I thought it my duty to communicate to you this news. If you are pleased to permit it to us, to me and to Muzaffar Khan, we shall go to these parts where we shall serve you well. You must not doubt about it. Only give me a reply as early as possible. The Mughals and the Marathas are your enemies. However, if you send us succour, the affairs of the French will go on well.



GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS, BOMBAY.
